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FIRST SESSION

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CONTENTS

JULY 20, 1985

WITNESSES

Page

Panel No. 1:
  Thyden, Mr. James, Director, Office of Human Rights, Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, U.S. Department of State 3
  Collins, Mr. Peter, Deputy Director, Office of Southern European Affairs, U.S. Department of State 5
Panel No. 2:
  Kassapis, Mr. Gus, father of missing American citizen, Andrew Kassapis .. 8
  Platis, Mr. Nick 9
  Constantinides, Father Evagoras 10
  Thomas, Mr. Xenophen 11
  Christoforous, Mr. Andy 12
Panel No. 3:
  Oberling, Prof. Pierre, professor of Middle East history, Hunter College 19
  Sandigcioglu, Mr. Ahmet, public relations director, Federation of Turkish American Societies 21
  Youssouf, Mr. Joseph, attorney, Englishtown, NJ 23

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: State Department Annual Human Rights Report on Cyprus—1984 32
Appendix 2: Various documents relating to the case of Andrew K. Kassapis.... 38
Appendix 3: Appeal from Myrophora Georghiou regarding the case of Christakis Georghiou 46
Appendix 4: Various documents submitted by Father Evagoras Constantinides relating to desecrated and destroyed churches in Cyprus 50
Appendix 5: Statement submitted by Jed Snyder, deputy director, national security studies, Hudson Institute, Washington, DC, entitled, "The Cyprus Dispute: Turkey, the Middle East and the Turkish Republic of Cyprus" 55
Appendix 6: Statement submitted by Christopher Hitchens, journalist 71
Appendix 7: Report of the European Commission on Human Rights entitled, "Application No. 8007/77, Cyprus Against Turkey," adopted October 4, 1983 73
Appendix 8: A list of missing persons as a result of the Turkish invasion in Cyprus submitted by Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus 90
Appendix 9: Article submitted by Mehmet Yasin entitled, "Perishing Cyprus," Turkish Cypriot weekly magazine OLAY, April 26, 1982 137

PUBLIC HEARING ON HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN CYPRUS

SATURDAY, JULY 20, 1985

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE,
New York, NY.

The Commission met, pursuant to notice, at One Federal Plaza, New York, NY, at 11 a.m., Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato, chairman, presiding.

In attendance: Michael R. Hathaway, staff director of the Commission.

WITNESS LIST FOR HELSINKI COMMISSION HEARING ON "HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN CYRPUS"

Panel 1: State Department official.

Panel 2: Mr. Gus Kassapis, Detroit, MI; Mr. Nick Platis; Father Evagoras Constantinides; Andy Christoforous; and Xenophen Thomas.

Panel 3: Prof. Pierre Oberling; Joseph Youssouf; and Ahmet Sandigcioglu.

OPENING STATEMENT OF CHAIRMAN D'AMATO

The CHAIRMAN. The Helsinki Commission hearings today, and the question of Cyprus and human rights violations, will commence.

I'll begin with a brief statement, and then we will have, as our first panel of witnesses, two representatives of the State Department.

Eleven years ago, 40,000 Turkish troops invaded Cyprus and forcibly occupied 40 percent of the island's most valuable territory. An estimated 10,000 men, women, and children were killed during the invasion. An additional 1,000, including a number of U.S. citizens, were taken prisoner. Over 200,000 Greek Cypriots were forced from their homes, to become refugees in their own country. The fate of more than 1,600 Cypriots, including several Americans, remains unknown to this day.

The Helsinki Commission was created to monitor compliance with provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, especially those relating to human rights. The Commission reviews human rights compliance by all nations who have signed the Helsinki Final Act. To sustain credibility of our criticism of East European nations for their blatant human rights violations, we have a responsibility to review even remotely similar actions by other signatories. The fact remains that there is only one case in postwar Europe where one nation used armed force to attempt to change the boundaries of another sovereign state. The invasion of Cyprus on this day 11 years ago by the Turkish Army and the occupation of the northern part of the island stands out as the most infamous incident since the forging of the Western alliance.

Cyprus has a long, rich and tragic history. Some recent memories, however, are among the most bitter. After achieving independence from Britain in 1960, Cyprus has been the victim of struggles between foreign powers, the ethnic and religious differences of the Greek and Turkish Cypriots have been exploited and have prevented Cyprus from enjoying in freedom the peaceful sovereignty which is the right of its people.

Ironically, the Zurich and London agreements, which granted independence to Cyprus, planted the seeds of division and violence. Those agreements created an unworkable government structure which fostered suspicion and tension. During the early years of independence there was a drastic increase in internal strife as well as a growing threat of invasion from Turkey.

Peaceful solutions to Cyprus' problems were tirelessly sought during this period, without success. In July 1974, after a coup which forced the President, Archbishop Makarious, to leave Cyprus, 40,000 Turkish troops landed on the northern section of Cyprus under the pretense of restoring constitutional order. Shortly after the invasion, the Government of Turkey stated;

> The purpose of our peaceful action is to eliminate the danger directed against the very existence of the Republic of Cyprus and the rights of all Cypriots * * * Turkey's aim is to restore security and human rights without any discrimination whatsoever among the communities.

Greek Cypriots, however, were denied the human rights promised by the Turkish Government.

Two years after the Turkish invasion and successful de facto division of the island of Cyprus, the Council of Europe's Commission of Human Rights released a report on the cost in human terms of Turkey's aggression. Although hampered by Turkey and refused access to the Turkish section of the island, the report nevertheless documented systematic killings of innocent civilians, the repeated rape of women ranging in age from 12 to 71, torture and inhumane treatment of Greek Cypriots, and extensive looting.

I will cite just a few examples of what the Commission found:

> Seventeen members of two neighboring families, including 10 women and 5 children * * * were killed in cold blood. A mentally retarded girl of 24 was raped in her house by 24 soldiers. When she started screaming, they threw her from the second-floor window. She fractured her spine and was paralyzed. One man, it was alleged, had to amputate his own toes with a razor blade, as a consequence of ill treatment. Caught up in Achna with another man, they had been beaten up with hard objects. When he asked for a glass of water, he was given a glass full of urine. His toes were then stepped on until they became blue, swollen, and eventually gangrenous.

The important thing to remember about these human rights abuses is that it was Turkish soldiers, not the Turkish Cypriots, who were responsible for these atrocities. By invading Cyprus, Turkey opened a new chapter of savagery, leaving permanent scars upon this serene island. Their continued presence in Cyprus is an affront to international law, the United Nations, the NATO Alliance, and the Helsinki Final Act.

Soon after the invasion, the United Nations unanimously adopted Resolution 3212 which provided the framework for a solution to the Cyprus conflict. It calls for the respect of the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, and nonalignment of the Republic of Cyprus. It also calls for the withdrawal of foreign troops, cessation of all foreign interference, and for the safe return of all refugees to their homes. In complete contempt of the United Nations, Turkey voted for the resolution, yet never complied with its provisions. The United Nations has since tried to mediate a settlement of the Cyprus problem without success. On November 15, 1983, the occupied section of Cyprus declared independence, calling itself "The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus." This illegal creation has only been recognized by one nation, Turkey.

Two years ago, I visited Cyprus. I was immediately struck by the island's beauty, but I was deeply saddened by its anguish, the refugees, who in some cases live within sight of their old family homes, must live in makeshift shelters. I saw the war-torn villages, such as the wasted town of Varosha, and I spoke to the people, all of whom have been affected in some way by the invasion. We cannot stand idly by when such suffering is occurring to an ally.

Many in the administration are concerned about our relationship with Turkey. If we allow our concern over our alliance with Turkey to paralyze us to the point that we can't keep faith with our own basic values by pressing for an accounting of the fate of the 1,600 missing human beings, then maybe the price of our alliance is too high. There can be no rational explanation for the Government of Turkey's refusal to inform the world regarding the whereabouts of these people. I am troubled that our Government, through our massive foreign aid program, in effect subsidizes the Turkish occupation of northern Cyprus and the efforts to settle Turkish nationals in Cyprus to change the island's demographics. This year, we are sending Turkey nearly $1 billion in military and other aid.

This special hearing of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe is being held to send a message to the Government of Turkey, they must answer the charges raised by the European Commission on Human Rights. They must understand that the status quo of the division of Cyprus is unacceptable. They must account for the most heinous legacy of the invasion, the 1,600 missing persons. This Commission will review the human rights situation in Cyprus and will try to determine if it has improved since the Council of Europe issued its report.

We have today an impressive group of witnesses to report on their experiences in Cyprus during and after the Turkish invasion. I appreciate their willingness to lend their expertise to the Commission. I want to thank them for coming here today, particularly on a Saturday, a day when people have other things to do with their families, and I look forward to their testimony.

Now, we will begin with the panel consisting of State Department witnesses. I want to thank you gentlemen, Mr. Collins and Mr. Thyden, for taking your time to be here with us. I'd like you to testify in any way you deem appropriate. Which of you chooses to start?

Mr. THYDEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I'm pleased to be here this morning to have this opportunity to appear before the Commission. I'm accompanied this morning by Mr. Peter Collins, the Deputy Director of the State Department's Office of Southern European Affairs.

There are three primary areas of human rights concern for the United States in Cyprus. These are: the status of the large number of refugees who were driven or fled from their homes and properties during the events of 1974; the problem of persons who disappeared during the period 1962 to 1974; and the status of the Greek Cypriots remaining in the north of Cyprus under Turkish Cypriot control.

With your permission, I will submit for the record a copy of our annual human rights report on Cyprus for 1984.

With respect to the first problem, that of the refugees, the position of the U.S. Government is that its solution is part and parcel of the need for an overall political settlement of the Cyprus problem. The refugees' status will not be resolved until the two Cypriot communities are able to work out together a new political arrangement for the island. We firmly support all efforts to bring the two sides together so that this might be achieved.

The second problem is that of the missing persons. Several thousand people from both the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot communities disappeared during the intercommunal violence which began in December 1963, and culminated in the events of the summer of 1974. These disappearances are a continuing tragedy for the families involved. The United States is well aware of this kind of suffering. Several thousand American families are still in doubt as to the fate of their loved ones missing and captured in Indochina. For that reason, we have strongly supported the Committee on Missing Persons [CMP], set up under the auspices of the United Nations, to attempt to resolve the status of the missing of both communities. We're disappointed that in over 4 years of work so far, little progress has been made. We urge the members of the CMP to redouble their efforts to resolve the uncertainty of families of those missing. A number of American persons are among those missing in 1974, and in that respect, it is also an American tragedy. We have constantly urged both sides to work together constructively and sincerely to resolve these cases as a purely humanitarian effort.

Finally, there's the problem of the remaining Greek Cypriot community in the north, those persons under the control of the Turkish Cypriots. Their main problems seem to be connected with the fact that they're a tiny, powerless minority. As such, they have no role in determining the course of events in Northern Cyprus, events which fundamentally affect their lives.

Furthermore, they're restricted from opportunities to travel freely to and return from the territory controlled by the Government of Cyprus.

The U.S. Government has always firmly emphasized that the full range of human rights guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Helsinki Final Act, and other relevant international documents, must be protected for these persons as for all other peoples of the world.

That concludes my prepared opening remarks, Mr. Chairman. We will be glad to answer whatever questions you have.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Collins, do you have any statement?

Mr. COLLINS. I have nothing further to add to Mr. Thyden.

The CHAIRMAN. This is a list of missing persons, which contains some 1,606 individuals, with the names of various people, the year of birth, identity card numbers, et cetera. I think that you've seen this list. Among them is the name of one young man, Andrew Kassapis. Andrew, at the time of the invasion, was 17 years old, a young man from Detroit visiting Cyprus with his father. We have his picture, and we have a certification of J. Michael O'Brien, the American Consul, Embassy of the United States, January 23, 1985, certifying that he's an American citizen, with his passport number, et cetera. He was there on Cyprus during the invasion. He was apparently taken into custody by Turkey, and there's no account of him.

Now, I'd like to know specifically if, as it relates to this young man, either of you are aware of this case?

Mr. COLLINS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what's the story? Maybe that's not what the Chairman of the Commission should be saying, but this is an American citizen, and Turkey is an ally. Eleven years he's been missing, and there's been no report on his fate. Are we impotent with an ally? Can't we say: "We want to know what the status of this young man is? Is he dead, is he alive, is he in custody, where is he?"

Now, Mr. Kassapis is here. I met him yesterday for the first time. It's unconscionable that there's been no accounting, and I don't understand. What, if anything, have we been able to determine from our inquiries? I imagine we've made inquiries, I can't believe we haven't, and I'd like you to give us a report.

Mr. COLLINS. Senator, if I might——

The CHAIRMAN. By the way, I do not direct my question at you personally. The way I put my question is not directed to either of you gentlemen personally, so please understand that. I want the record to reflect this. However, it doesn't diminish my shock at this situation that has continued for 11 years, because I think it's unconscionable that there has been no accounting for Andrew Kassapis. I really believe we should call the Turkish Ambassador in and say we want to know what happened to him. We want to know tomorrow. He's an American citizen. Now, if you would reply, I'd appreciate it.

Mr. COLLINS. Senator, we're extremely well aware of this tragic case, and since the case—since the case of the disappearance occured, we have made repeated constant efforts to try to attempt to find out what happened.

The CHAIRMAN. Hold the microphone up and give it a tap. Is it on? Go ahead.

Mr. COLLINS. Excuse me. We are well aware of this tragic case, and we have made repeated efforts to try to get to the bottom of it. In the years following the events of 1974, we've made repeated representations to the Turkish military authorities on Cyprus, as well as Turkish Cypriot authorities, we've made repeated representations in Ankara as well. We have been very active in the United

Nations effort to set up a committee on missing persons, and we strongly recommend and urge that the committee attempt to resolve the issue of Mr. Kassapis as well as the other tragic issues that surround the events of 1974.

We have been—we have been in regular touch with the Kassapis family. Tragically, thus far, there has been no—there is no information that we've been able to provide. We have been informed in the past years by the authorities, by the Turkish Cypriots and the Turkish authorities, that Mr. Kassapis' name appears on no known lists. Our efforts do not cease in this regard, and as Mr. Thyden said in his statement, we continue to place high priority on this issue and the activities of the Committee on Missing Persons.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Thyden, do you have anything to add?

Mr. THYDEN. I have nothing to add on that, except that this is one of a number of tragic cases, in that since it's not unique, we continue to work with the Committee on Missing Persons. Questions like this could really be resolved only by the various parties cooperating with each other, and we believe the best hope for that is through the Committee on Missing Persons.

The CHAIRMAN. How many American citizens have been missing since the invasion 11 years ago?

Mr. THYDEN. I believe it's in the range of seven or eight.

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Chairman, if I might add, should you want more details on that, we could provide it subsequently, but since it's my general understanding that in the early years we were able to clarify some instances of American citizens that were missing, there still obviously remains some to be clarified. Mr. Kassapis' case is tragic in this regard, but we have not been totally unsuccessful in clarifying the instances of some of the Americans involved in those events.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you this; when is the last time that you are aware of that the State Department had been in contact with either the Turkish Government that's operating on Cyprus, or the Turkish Government in Ankara, in regard to Kassapis, Andrew Kassapis?

Mr. COLLINS. I don't know that specifically, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you provide the Commission, for our record, a report on the last time this issue was raised with the Turkish Government? I think that's very important, because I have a feeling that your records are going to be quite barren, and you'll have to go back a ways. I think your answer will be important. I'd like to know the nature of the Department's inquiry, because it just seems to me that this is a forgotten lad. He's been forgotten.

You know, our big impersonal Government goes chugging on its way. We talk about the necessity for sustaining our alliances. I understand there's a necessity for these alliances. I understand the military consequences, the strategic importance of, and for these relationships, but I don't think that we should forget the missing people. I think that, with our allies in particular, we have a right to expect them, particularly as it relates to our citizens, to act in our interest as well. We should be able to expect them to protect those citizens, and certainly, if there's a misfortune that has befallen them, to come forward and tell us what hapened to them.

We find, as you so eloquently put it, Mr. Thyden, in the record, and it's absolutely unconscionable, that there are 2,200 MIA's from the Vietnam era, because families are still grieving. There's a little more certainty that probably most of our Vietnam MIA's are no longer alive, yet still those families experience the tragedy and hurt of the uncertainty surrounding the fate of their loved ones. Then, we look at the tiny nation of Cyprus, dwarfed in comparison to the size of the United States, and it has roughly the same number of MIA's.

If we put the situation in that relationship, and we look at the hurt that the unresolved missing persons issue has inflicted upon this community and the trauma that still exists, we can better understand the human dimensions of this problem. It may be difficult for us to imagine the full impact of this situation from our vantage point, but I would suggest that an accounting would go a long way toward beginning to ameliorate some of that pain that people still feel and live with.

Regarding this young man, Andrew Kassapis, I want you to know, my concern will not stop with my duties as the Chairman of the Helsinki Commission. This matter has now become something that is important to me personally, because I've met this young man's family. You know, I have a 16-year-old son, and what Andrew Kassapis is going through means something to me, in a personal way.

To find in this great land of ours, and we are a great land, that we are impotent in bringing about some accounting is hard for me to understand. I would just say to you that it's a marvel that Mr. Kassapis is able to continue as he has. I'd like you to make available to the Commission, first, in detail, an answer for the record stating when the last time is we've made inquiry with specific respect to this case. I'd also like to have a full explanation for the record as to what we have done with respect to this case. If you would provide the Commission with an explanation of what activities we've undertaken to date, including the times and places we've met with the Government of Cyprus, the Turkish Government on Cyprus, and the Turkish Government in Ankara, with respect to all of the missing people. Your response should specifically address those who are U.S. citizens.

I think the missing Americans gives this another dimension as well. I think we must get an accounting for the seven or eight missing Americans on Cyprus. We should not and cannot countenance this lack of information. No one has a right to tell us that we should keep quiet about missing American citizens. In the world of international politics, I can see how easy it is for individuals to be swept away. It's rather shocking and frightening to see this situation befall our own citizens and the people of a small nation.

At one time, the fact that you were a U.S. citizen gave you some real protection. Today, obviously that is no longer the case. We may even be special targets. That, I think, is unfortunate.

Let me thank both of you for being here. I am going to ask that you stay and listen to some of the other witnesses' testimony.

Mr. Kassapis is going to testify. Have either of you had an opportunity to meet Mr. Kassapis before?

Mr. **Thyden**. No, sir.

Mr. COLLINS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it would be helpful if you met him. Maybe we can do something to resolve some of these tragedies. I thank you both, and I ask you again to provide the information I've requested as soon as you possibly can.

Mr. THYDEN. I'd be glad to.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Our next panel will be Mr. Gus Kassapis, the father of Andrew Kassapis, an American who was taken prisoner by Turkish forces in 1974; Mr. Nick Platis, a former Greek Cypriot, now a United States resident who was captured and taken to Turkey; Father Evagoras Constantinides, Andy Christoforou, and Xenophen Thomas.

Mr. Kassapis, why don't you take the microphone?

Mr. KASSAPIS. My name is Costas A. Kassapis and I am an American citizen.

During the Turkish invasion of Cyprus I lived in the village of Ashia with my family of which my children, Irene, Andy, and Fay were all American citizens.

On August 14, 1974, the Turkish Armed Forces took control of Ashia village. We were forced to remain in our home until August 20, when two armed Turkish Cypriots from the nearby village of Aphania named Djemali Batti and Kiufi Asmi broke into our house and searched and destroyed many of our possessions. They then abducted my son Andy, aged 17 at the time and my son-in-law Leontios Leontiou, aged 23, who was a Greek Cypriot. They put them on a tractor and drove them to Aphania village. We have not heard from them since. I must note that my son held his American passport at the time.

About a month later, we were informed by a friendly Turkish Cypriot that they were taken away by the Turkish military forces.

On August 23 we were forced to leave our home with the clothes we had on. We were taken to the Greek-occupied part of the island by bus. I immediately informed the American Embassy in Nicosia and they promised to try to locate at least my son.

I went to the Embassy daily since then and met with many officials including our Ambassador, Mr. Crawford. Meanwhile, I searched for more information. According to the statement of ex-prisoner Georgios Papaleontiou who was at Amasia Prison, both my son and son-in-law were there also on October 25. With the help of this factor we tried to locate Andy and secure his release through our Embassy, but with no success.

On November 8 the Turkish authorities submitted a list of students which were to be released that day. Included was my son's name with the following particulars:

> Andreas Costa Kassapis, age 17, American Academy, Rizokarpas. We were informed that there was no other student at the American Academy named Andreas Costa Kassapis, and that there was no Andreas Costa Kassapis from Rizokarpas, thus proving that the above-named student was in fact my son.

Again we tried to locate Andy through the American Embassy and again were unsuccessful. Mr. Denktash disputed the contents of this list although he did not exclude the possibility of his being alive and gave no explanation for his disappearance.

In June 1975 I returned to the United States to seek help from officials in Washington in obtaining my son's release. I went directly to the State Department for help. I spoke with several Senators and Congressmen. My cry for help was met with promises which never materialized.

I remained in Cyprus for 5 whole years waiting for an answer to the question of my son's fate. My efforts, however, met with dead ends. In August 1979 my family and I returned to the United States and have resumed our efforts with U.S. Government officials.

We are a family in great distress, yet we do realize that my beloved son may be either rotting in a Turkish prison or may have been executed. However, we continue to have hope and these hopes are not based on fantasy.

There are 2,000 missing in Cyprus as a result of the hostilities of 1974, 6 of which are American citizens. This human drama is causing untold anguish to some 20,000 relatives like myself. The Government of Cyprus knows that a number of those missing are still alive and being held in the Turkish-occupied area of Cyprus and on the Turkish mainland. The Turkish Government, however, has remained obstinant in its efforts to solve such a "humanitarian" issue and is adamant in its claim that there are no prisoners being held by Turkey as a result of the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974.

As a family we have not lost hope. We still have faith that Andrew is alive and will return to his home someday.

We will continue to ask our Government for help. We are American citizens and are entitled to the same rights as any American in the United States.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Kassapis.

Mr. PLATIS. Why don't you use the microphone too, and then I'll ask you some questions. I think what we'll do is take the testimony from the panel before we ask any questions.

Mr. Platis.

Mr. PLATIS. My name is Nicos Platis.

I, Nicos Platis, was taken prisoner by Turkish troops on July 26, 1974, while driving through the village of Bellapais, with my wife Helen, and daughter Chrystalla. My family and other civilians were gathered in the town square. Women and children were separated and all men were taken to the local police station.

In August we were transported to Pavlides G.M. garage, in Nicosia, and were combined with other prisoners. Our daily diet consisted of one piece of bread and five olives. The garage was completely closed and heavily guarded by Turkish troops. The garage held approximately 1,000 prisoners and had no ventilation or toilets. Temperature was very high, and the conditions unsanitary due to the lack of toilets.

In early September, we were transported in a ship with our hands tied and eyes blindfolded. We were taken to the Adana Prison in Turkey. Interrogation, beatings, and torture followed. For 2 days I was hanging with my head in the toilet. Illusionary executions were taking place every day as the prisoners were lined against the wall and fired upon.

After about 10 days at the Adana Prison, I and 300 other prisoners were transported to the prison at Adiyama. This second prison was worse than the first. For 10 days there was no food or water. The beatings by the guards became unbearable and many prisoners lost all their senses. I, particularly, remember the severe beatings imposed on a 50-year-old prisoner by the name of Demetris Karniotis, who died 2 days after his return to Cyprus. I was released on October 27, 1974.

The CHAIRMAN. Father.

Father CONSTANTINIDES. My name is Father Evagoras Constantinides of the St. Constantine Cathedral in Maryville, IN. I was born and raised in Lapithos, Cyprus, and came to this country at the age of 20.

I visited Cyprus frequently before the invasion in February 1974, and almost yearly after that.

My family, from Lapithos, are now refugees in Nicosia, and my sister settled at the time of the invasion in Cyprus by Turkey in July 1974, in Famagusta. She is also living as a refugee in Nicosia.

Being a priest for 30 years, I have a very keen interest in matters religious and religious places, including the churches, religious art, and heritage of my mother country. Thus, the fate to which the churches, monasteries, chapels, cemeteries, and religious places and items have fallen since the invasion and occupation of Northern Cyprus, has caused me a great deal of anguish. I have tried to find out all I can about these religious places, and I'm here to tell their sad story, as told by independent and reliable observers, since it has become impossible for us to go into the occupied part of Cyprus. Yanat Messina, a Turkish Cypriot, wrote a sadly beautiful and fully pathetic article entitled "Appearing Cyprus" in four installments in the Turkish Cypriot weekly magazine "On High," beginning on April 26, 1982, and this is the way he starts his article:

> Cyprus is being estranged from itself. The environmental, communal and cultural structure is being spoiled.
>
> From the moment mankind first touched this land and since the remote ages when men toiled to rejuvenate it as far back as 7,000 years B.C., this country began to inscribe its name in history, Cyprus.

He goes on to describe how it went through many conquerors and the glories it experienced through the Hellenistic and Byzantine periods. However, he adds,

> We for some time now, are trying to destroy with our own hands our history, culture, and in the last analysis, ourselves. We have abandoned our historical masterpieces with their Greek columns, Gotham ornaments, yellowstoned art and Sachukian (phonetic) domes, to destruction and pillage.
>
> Henceforth, walking in the streets makes you melancholy, and you feel that with every passing day, you have lost a part of yourself. If a truer description could be given of Cyprus since 1963, when the disastrous separation between Greek and Turkish Cypriots began, which culminated in the invasion of the island by Turkey on July 20, 1974, and the occupation of 40 percent of it this day; but we shall not speak of the innumerable antiquities which had been destroyed and sold around the world by the invaders, but we shall concentrate on the churches, monasteries, icons, and religious items which were pillaged, desecrated, stolen or destroyed, as proven by independent evidence.

Here is the lamentable list which I present to you. Here's the list of churches, and I have grouped them together to see what fate they have suffered.

First, five churches and chapels were converted into animal stalls or stables after having been looted, including the Church of St. Theodora in Lapithos, where I was baptized and served as an altar boy. Second, three churches and chapels were demolished after having been looted. Third, four churches and chapels were maliciously burned by the Turkish invaders. Fourth, two churches and chapels were converted into storehouses, movies, and recreational centers after having been looted. Fifth, 30 churches were converted into mosques, including the one at St. Ambrosios, where my aunt worshipped, and I visited many times. Sixth, six monasteries, churches and chapels are used by the Turkish Army for military purposes. Seventh, 58 churches and chapels were left to their fate by the invaders, abandoned to bandits and vandals, including the Church of St. Luke in Lapithos, my hometown, where my father was baptized, and pictures of which you may see on the exhibit, two more pictures than those appearing on the exhibit. I had—in fact, I phoned my sister yesterday to mail to me, I saw in Cyprus, which were taken only last year by an English tourist. Eighth, two monasteries and churches were converted into so-called museums, reminiscent of atheist Russia, where most churches have suffered the same fate.

This is the list, and later on in answer to your questions, sir, I shall present some of the evidence of how these things came to be known.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Father.

Mr. Thomas.

Mr. THOMAS. My name is——

The CHAIRMAN. Why don't you take the microphone.

Mr. THOMAS. I, Xenophon Thomas, was a sergeant in the Cypriot National Guard during the 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus. I was taken prisoner on July 23, 1974, in the city of Kyrenia. I and nine soldiers of my squad were immediately taken to a holding area, by the Dome Hotel. The nine soldiers of my squad were lined against the wall and executed. Due to my sergeant status, I was placed along with 300 prisoners, mostly civilians, in a small army truck that usually accommodated 10 people. The prisoners were stacked one on top of the other, in the fashion of stacking cartons. We were transported to the police station in Boghazi and were placed in a stable and for 15 days were kept without food or water. The stable was completely closed and heavily guarded by Turkish soldiers, many prisoners were completely unconscious due to the heat which was well over 100 °F.

Sometime in August, we were transported and placed in a ship that took us to Mercin, Turkey. The trip to Turkey was long and again without food or water. Upon arrival in Turkey we were transported by army truck to the prison of Adana. We received our first meal which was bean soup and as a result, most of the prisoners got sick.

At the Adana Prison, I was interrogated and daily beatings and torture sessions were a routine matter. Subsequently, I was transferred to the Turkish prison of Amasia. The prisoners were transported by train and at the village of Tokatt, we were attacked and stoned by Turkish civilians that halted the train by dismantling the tracks. When we finally reached Amasia Prison we were combined with many other Cypriot prisoners. During my stay at Amasia, I met a fellow prisoner, Andreas Loumpas, who today is among the 1,619 missing Cypriots. I was released in November 1974, and upon my return to Cyprus, I told the father of Andreas that his son was still alive in the prison of Amasia. Unfortunately his fate is still unknown.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Christoforou.

Mr. CHRISTOFOROU. My name is Andreas Christoforou and I was born in the village of Patriki, Cyprus, the village of which is in the town of Famagusta. Between the years 1970 and 1974, I was a student studying music in Greece. During the summer of 1974, I returned to Cyprus for a vacation. On August 20, Turkish troops invaded our village. I, along with the other men were taken prisoners. I was taken to Pavlides GM garage in Nicosia. During the 2-hour trip to Nicosia, we were beaten to a state of unconsciousness. The garage was completely enclosed, and there were no toilets. Conditions were unsanitary and our daily diet consisted of one piece of bread, and two olives. On August 31, I was taken blindfolded, along with the other prisoners, to the gymnasium of Kyrenia. The next day we were transported by a navy ship to Mercin in Turkey. The trip to Turkey took approximately 10 hours and there was no food or water on board.

From Mercin, we were stacked in small army trucks and transported to Adana Prison. At the Adana Prison, I was once again beaten until I became unconscious. The next day I was transported with 24 other soldiers in a refrigerated truck to a military police station. I was interrogated by a well-known Turkish Cypriot, Mr. Osmen Orek, who had served in the Cypriot Parliament, between the years 1960 to 1964. Although I had no military secrets or information, they insisted that I was an officer of the Cypriot Army. My middle name Afxentiou, was the same as a well-known Cypriot hero, who was killed while fighting in the rebellion against the British. This led them to believe that I had secrets. Along with other prisoners, we were lined up against the wall and an illusionary execution took place. I was once again beaten into a state of unconsciousness.

On September 5, 1974, I was transported with other prisoners by buses to the prison in Antiyama. At the prison, there was completely no food or water. After 2 weeks, we were given one piece of bread and again two olives.

In October, I was once again taken to the prison of Adana. The routine was already the same, consisting of daily beatings and torture sessions. In order to get food, you had to walk a long corridor, lined with soldiers that beat you continuously. In most of the cases, the prisoners never made it to the kitchen for the food.

On October 25, 1974, I was returned to Cyprus.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. Kassapis, I see here the names of various officials, including Senators and Congressmen, that you've contacted, as well as people in our media. When is the last time you've had any word from the State Department about your son?

Mr. KASSAPIS. A long time, through my Senator in Michigan.

The CHAIRMAN. How long ago was that?

Mr. KASSAPIS. Let's see, a couple of years.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you made any calls within the past 2 years or written any letters to them?

Mr. KASSAPIS. I always tried to send a letter to my Congressman in Michigan, and the letters I have from Senator Riegle, he wrote a letter to—in Cyprus to the new, the one that talks to the Cypriots about missing persons, and there's a new assistant there from Switzerland, and he gave the letter to him, you know, insisting to put the name of my boy on first priority. That's the last I heard from them.

The CHAIRMAN. But there's been no other——

Mr. KASSAPIS. No; I haven't—actually I haven't written any myself, we wrote a few times before in the beginning of 1979, when I came back to the United States, and we were going to try to continue our efforts, but nothing particularly, but I was in the State Department in 1985, and I saw State Department officials.

The CHAIRMAN. In your testimony, you indicated Andreas was listed as a student, and he was scheduled to be released with other students.

Mr. KASSAPIS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And that never came about? When those students were released, your son was not one of them?

Mr. KASSAPIS. Yes. That particular time it was after the release of the Greek Cypriots from prisons, and there were quite a few people which had been released, or students also, from different universities from around the world, and the United Nations showed the names of all the students, so on those lists was my son's name, and I met one gentleman from Red Cross, and I asked him, I showed my passport, and I asked him if my boy was released, so he showed to me, he was released, so the next day, so many students were going to be released, so there was a place in Nicosia, which all the prisoners had been released. We all went up there, so again, you know, my son was not among them.

The CHAIRMAN. You've given that information to the State Department?

Mr. KASSAPIS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How did they respond to you when you asked them where your son was?

Mr. KASSAPIS. Actually nothing. He says, "we're going to try," the same reply I got from the Embassy in Cyprus.

The CHAIRMAN. Prior to the time your son was taken into custody, how long had you been in Cyprus?

Mr. KASSAPIS. Excuse me?

The CHAIRMAN. How long were you and your son in Cyprus before these events took place, before July 20, 1974?

Mr. KASSAPIS. Before the invasion?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. KASSAPIS. We went to Cyprus in 1967, I was—at that time pretty sick, you know, my doctor advised me to change climate for a while, and I was a long time here, I was very sick and I visited Cyprus. If we like it there for awhile, then we stay, so I stayed there for the first 2 months, and my health improved over 90 percent. When September came, we had to come back to the United

States, because we have tickets, so my children, they said, "Dad, it's pretty good over here, we can play in the streets," and my daughter was older, and my boy was, he was ready for the junior high, so I went to the American Academy, and I put my kids there, in order to give them the education. We planned to come back in 1974.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you planned to come back after he completed his high school at the American Academy?

Mr. KASSAPIS. Yes; he finished the American Academy, and he got his diploma. They were ready to come back to the United States in September.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, he had graduated?

Mr. KASSAPIS. Yes; he graduated, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And it was your intent to come back, and for him to come back to complete his college here in the United States?

Mr. KASSAPIS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. So he had been there for some 4 years?

Mr. KASSAPIS. Yes, and he graduated, and he's been promoted.

The CHAIRMAN. So he was a good student?

Mr. KASSAPIS. Yes, he was a very good student, an A–1 student.

The CHAIRMAN. Your son-in-law was living with you at the same time, isn't that right?

Mr. KASSAPIS. Yes; he is now living at the house. He came and visited his fiance; my daughter was engaged to him.

The CHAIRMAN. Has anyone heard from him?

Mr. KASSAPIS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentlemen from the State Department are here. I asked you to remain, so you can hear Mr. Kassapis' case. It would be my hope that you would look into what has been done and determine what the status of affairs are concerning this case. Please advise others of the State Department that we're not going to let this go. I will give you a copy of Mr. Kassapis' statement.

I mean, it has been absolutely shocking and scandalous that we have allowed such a period of time to elapse without any meaningful effort to find out what happened to Andrew Kassapis. I can't believe there was a meaningful effort to locate him, or to ascertain his fate. I think that we owe that to him and to his family. In fact, we owe it to ourselves.

Mr. Kassapis will make his statement available at the conclusion of the hearing, so that you won't have to wait for the entire record to be published. Hopefully, we can begin to pursue this issue soon.

Father, you recounted the incidents of desecrations of the churches, of the sale of the icons, of the plundering of churches, of their being closed, and of their being put to other uses as cinemas, quarters for troops, et cetera. How do you get your information on these things, Father?

Father CONSTANTINIDES. Most of the information has come, and is still coming from tourists, and as I said, I met an English lady who last year brought some pictures from my hometown, which are not those that are appearing there, they're additional and they're in color as a matter of fact, of the Church of St. Luke.

We also get information from anybody else, including some Turkish Cypriot friends who sneaked information out for us, because they are concerned about the area in our own village. However, the most information and most accurate information, of which I will give you a copy, comes in this agency from Mr. Yanat Messina, who, as I related earlier published in four installments, the story, it's a 39-page article, which I would like to submit to you, and I will give you some excerpts from that in order to see that this thing mentioned places and dates and names, and is not in generalities.

> You want to run away and you drive your car toward the east. There you will see small churches which have suffered the fate of the Armenian monastery at Halefque (phonetic), and of other churches.

Another quote:

> Do not ask any questions about the condition of the first century scene of Lumbasa, which is now a military zone.

Lumbasa, I know personally, because it was right next to my hometown. This is where I used to go swimming, by the monastery at Urabedos (phonetic). In fact, earlier, before things were settled after the occupation, we had personal information as to what happened at Urabedos and all of the pillage that took place there. You find that on page 3.

Another quote:

> They explain how Kairana (phonetic) Castle was robbed, where the responsible officials, between September 1974, only 2 months after the invasion, and May 30, 1981, stole 255 icons worth 18,950,626,000 Turkish lira.

You'll find that also on page 3. Hundreds of icons worth tens of thousands of Turkish lira have been stolen and smuggled out. Only a fraction of these were recovered, and these that were recovered, were purchased from dealers around the world by the Cyprus Government or the Cyprus church.

The CHAIRMAN. Father, if I might, as you described this litany of savagery directed against houses of worship, how many priests were in this area, northern Cyprus, now occupied by Turkey, and——

Father CONSTANTINIDES. 200, at least 200 priests were forced to leave the occupied areas.

The CHAIRMAN. How many, if any, Father, now are in that occupied area?

Father CONSTANTINIDES. There are only four or five priests in the occupied area, and most of them are in the monastery of Abosdon Andreas (phonetic), which is at the very tip of Cyprus, which, according to our information and in all fairness, has not been pillaged or molested, and those four or five priests who are there, are serving the needs of some of the people who live in the resort Lapathos. In other areas, and I know very definitely, and I know from personal knowledge, speaking to a lady who lives in Kairana, Kairana is a village, that was the capital of the province of Kairana, which is just 9 miles east of my hometown. This lady I saw last year again, and she's one of seven persons who have remained behind in Kairana. They have no priest, they have no way of worshiping, all of the churches in the area have been closed or pillaged or looted; only one church in upper Kairana remains, a very small church, and I was told by her that they go there, somebody has the key, they open it up, and they pray to God in their own way without the assistance of any clergy, because no clergy is permitted to go there.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you believe these were random attacks on the churches by undisciplined troops, or was there a systematic pattern to these attacks? Were they acting under orders?

Father CONSTANTINIDES. According to the report and the article that I gave you, Senator, the reason why these things were done is because of the fact that they brought in a lot of money, all of the icons which go back several centuries, are worth an awful lot of money. Therefore, whether it was random or not, they were taken, but you will see also that the people in charge of the antiquities, and in charge of the sacred places in the occupied area, were not the ones who were paying very much attention to them; they themselves were leading in the stealing and the looting and in the selling.

I have here a letter which I was given by the archbishop of Cyprus, just 4 weeks ago, when I was in Cyprus, and this is a copy of a letter which is addressed to him, to the archbishop, from a lady, Mrs. J. de Menil, who is president of the Menil Foundation in Houston, TX, and this is what she said to the archbishop:

> My Dear Archbishop, may I be bold enough to confide in Your Beatitude a project that has been growing in my heart. It concerns the frescoes of the Chapel of St. Themonianos from Lysi, and you will see Lysi in the occupied area.
>
> As you may recall, these frescoes had been ripped from the walls, and were in many pieces in the hands of a dealer when we heard of them and offered the Church of Cyprus to purchase and restore them. You encourage us to do so by granting permission to exhibit them in Houston for a period of 10 years.
>
> The frescoes are now in London being pieced together with great difficulty, and restored by an able professional dealer.
>
> As this work slowly progresses, an idea germinated in my heart,

And she goes on to describe that she would like to create a chapel, a replica of the Chapel of St. Themonianos in Houston, and there to exhibit these frescoes so that some of the culture of Cyprus and the religious heritage of Cyprus may be seen in America, and I was asked by the archbishop to go and see this lady and see exactly what she wanted to do, and this thing I am going to do.

The article also states how the icons were stolen, how they were cut to pieces, how they were sent to Germany, and it describes in one of the pages there, it's 39 pages long, it describes how the contacts were made, he refers to officials, and he gives names as to the officials, how the officials were involved, and how the officials, if caught, would always blame some lower echelons, and how those lower echelons had their contact men. It describes very beautifully in the article how all of this thing is done, intentionally, deliberately, and according to the plan.

The CHAIRMAN. I'm certain that you've had contact with some of the 200 or so priests who were forced to flee northern Cyprus as a result of the invasion, or later during the occupation. Have you had any conversations with them in regard to the treatment they were accorded? Did they experience deliberate persecution because of their religious beliefs and their attempts to practice their ministry with respect to their people?

Father CONSTANTINIDES. They were not really permitted to remain there. I know that the—all of the priests in my village, which was a mixed village of Greeks and Turks, and I might add here, that I lived there 20 years, the first 20 years of my life, and we lived in peace and love and respect for each other. There were six churches and two mosques, and we revered all of them, and we permitted everybody to practice. All of those priests left from there. Five priests were killed in cold blood during the two phases of the Turkish invasion in July and in August 1974.

As I said earlier, 200 priests were forced to leave the occupied areas, and now we have some names; Reverend John Anasteva [phonetic] from Palathagros [phonetic] was mistreated by the invaders and died later-on as a result. All priests, about 20, who were taken prisoner during the invasion, were all mistreated. The Reverend Uakempe [phonetic] from Trico was slaughtered; so anybody who stayed behind, the only ones that have remained, and of course we cannot get in touch with them, and of course Aboston Andreas, on the very tip of Cyprus——

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Platis, at any time did you feel you would be shot or executed? When they played these illusory games, were you ever lined up?

Mr. PLATIS. About three times.

The CHAIRMAN. Pardon me?

Mr. PLATIS. Personally, about three times.

The CHAIRMAN. Would they do—they'd line up and blindfold you?

Mr. PLATIS. They'd line me on the wall, and they would start firing at me.

The CHAIRMAN. They would start firing?

Mr. PLATIS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. So you never knew if it was the real thing?

Mr. PLATIS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Or if it was just another one of these cruel hoaxes?

Mr. PLATIS. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. How about you, Mr. Thomas, did you ever experience that? Were you ever, during your captivity, lined up and slated for execution? Did you hear them fire and then——

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; they put us against the wall, all 10 of us, and because I was a sergeant, they pushed me away and they pushed me—put me in a small van, and they start shooting them.

The CHAIRMAN. They actually did in that case——

Mr. THOMAS. They did, I saw them from the wall going down to the hole.

The CHAIRMAN. They actually did kill your nine——

Mr. THOMAS. I saw all nine of them, they were all my best friends.

The CHAIRMAN. You were, in what you might describe, in a home guard? How would you describe that organization? Was that the National Guard you were in? You were a sergeant?

Mr. THOMAS. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. What were the other——

Mr. THOMAS. The other nine people?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. The other nine people, they were in my group, you know, in the army.

The CHAIRMAN. So you were in charge of that crew that was——

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, I was in charge of that group of nine other people.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you say they captured you. Did you offer any resistance, or was this force so overwhelming that you just surrendered? How did you become their prisoners?

Mr. THOMAS. I become their prisoner down in Kairana [phonetic] with the other nine people.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there a fire fight or——

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, there was a fire fight.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did the battle——

Mr. THOMAS. It was about a couple of hours, and——

The CHAIRMAN. Were there just you and the nine?

Mr. THOMAS. No; they took us in one place, both of them, 9, 10 people.

The CHAIRMAN. Ten of them?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you the only soldiers in that town at that time?

Mr. THOMAS. No; there was other soldiers, but at that time they took us, we are only 10 together, but there was other soldiers in the area, but together we are only 10, and then they took us from there down to the ship.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Christoforou, did you experience that same kind of treatment where you thought you were slated to be executed? Did you face any of that?

Father CONSTANTINIDES. May I interpret for him?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, please do.

Mr. CHRISTOFOROU. [Through the interpreter.] Yes, of course.

The CHAIRMAN. How many times did that take place.

Mr. CHRISTOFOROU. About three times.

The CHAIRMAN. About three times?

Mr. CHRISTOFOROU. Yes, and they put guns and knife in my face.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you surprised about your release from prison? Did they tell you beforehand, a week beforehand, a day beforehand, that you were going to eventually be released?

Mr. CHRISTOFOROU. No; the last time, the last day I was informed that I was going to leave, the last day, on the day on which I left.

The CHAIRMAN. Father, let me thank you and all of the witnesses for coming forward today. I think you described a rather sorry spectacle. It is a tragedy that still exists in terms of desecration of churches of worship and places of worship. The maltreatment of those who were captured, and the needless executions of young men, simply because they were Greek Cypriots, were criminal. The needless suffering still continues because of Turkey's failure to live up to the most fundamental principles. They refuse to account for those who are missing. The Turks won't provide an accurate account, so that the families of the missing could be relieved of the terrible burden of uncertainty.

Mr. Kassapis is a very vivid case, a tragic example of this situation. With his son Andreas, and the other 1,600 missing, we grasp the human impact of this tragedy.

It's the least we can do in a civilized nation to take this testimony on the 11th anniversary of the invasion of Cyprus. We hope that the world will not forget, and that we as a nation, and our allies, will do all we can to end the illegal occupation of Cyprus and to bring about the release of, or the accounting for, those who are listed as missing today. Hopefully, we can have a united Cyprus. We will work to make certain that all peoples' rights are respected, Moslems and Christians, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. We want people to be able to live in peace and tranquility, with the right to practice their religions, to speak their native tongue, and to live with dignity. It's something that we must do. Certainly, if we can't help that small little island nation, I don't think the legacy we leave to our children will be a very good one. This is an ideal, it would seem to me, opportunity to bring together these disparate groups in peace. Indeed, as you were saying, Father, for many years Greeks and Turks and Moslems and Greek Orthodox practiced their religions and lived their lives together in brotherhood. It would seem to me that this should be our goal once again.

Father CONSTANTINIDES. If you would permit me a comment, in order to show that the life that we lived in Cyprus, many years ago before the interference of outsiders, those 20 years. When I was a college student in Cleveland, OH from 1938 to 1942, after the New York World's Fair existed, a certain part of the exhibit was taken to Cleveland, and I know that the Greek pavilion was taken to Cleveland, and the municipality of Cleveland declared a Greek Day, and we went there and we invited the people, and we exhibited the Greek things, and we had Greek dancing and so forth, and so forth.

Then there was a Turkish exhibit, and there were not enough Turks in Cleveland in order to make this exhibit, so I was asked. I, a Greek. I was not a priest, but I was a college student at the time, studying civil engineering, and I was asked if I could help, and indeed, I corresponded with the Ambassador from Turkey in Washington. I received from him the music for several songs, and I taught those songs to my choir in the church where I attended. We exhibited the Turkish exhibit, and we put on some dances and songs in Turkish, because of the fact that we have no animosity, and still do not have any animosity about the people of Cyprus or the Turkish people. I believe today that if Cyprus is left to the Cypriots, the ones that were born and raised there and consider it their country, like this gentleman says in his article, that everything is going to be fine.

Thank you, Senator, very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Father.

Our third panel will now testify. Professor Oberling, O-b-e-r-l-i-n-g, you may begin.

Professor could you share with us, when you're done with your presentation, your written remarks? We want to make sure we have an accurate transcript, and I would——

Professor OBERLING. Yes; I have a copy.

The CHAIRMAN. I might ask the same of our other witnesses. If you have any copies please provide them to us. It certainly would help us and help the stenographer thereafter.

Professor OBERLING. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. Professor, thank you for coming today.

Professor OBERLING. Yes, sir; it's a great pleasure for me to come, a great honor, indeed.

In 1963, fully 10 years before the Turkish intervention in Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, the Greek Cypriot President of the island republic, launched a series of attacks against the Turkish Cypriot quarters of the towns and Turkish Cypriot villages. One hundred and three Turkish Cypriot villages were sacked and burned, mosques were desecrated and so many Turkish Cypriot men, women, and children were butchered that U.S. Under Secretary of State George Ball accused Makarios of turning Cyprus into his "private abattoir."

In 1967, there was a new wave of Greek Cypriot attacks against Turkish Cypriot villages.

A third cycle of violence occurred in summer of 1974 when Nikos Sampson who had won election to the Greek Cypriot House of Representatives with the slogan "Death to the Turks" seized power in Nicosia with the help of the Greek junta and started his own reign of terror.

All these barbaric acts stretching over a period of 10 years and the threat of further barbaric acts to follow finally triggered the Turkish intervention. As the former British Prime Minister, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, pointed out: "The Turks were provoked beyond endurance." The Turkish intervention was also legal according to the Treaty of Guarantee which the Greek Cypriots themselves had signed.

The Turkish intervention brought about the collapse of the Greek military dictatorship and the reestablishment of democracy in Greece. It also led to the downfall of the brutal dictatorship of Nikos Sampson in Cyprus. But it came too late to prevent the massacre of hundreds of Turkish Cypriots by the Greek-officered National Guard and the SS-like EOKA-B Organization. As a German tourist noted:

> In the villages around Famagousta, the Greek National Guard have displayed unsurpassed examples of savagery. Entering Turkish homes, they ruthlessly rained bullets on women and children. They cut the throats of many Turks. Rounding up Turkish women, they raped them all.

The National Guard and EOKA-B next slaughtered most of the inhabitants of the Turkish Cypriot villages of Aloa, Maratha, and Sandalaris. The victims were shoved into common graves with bulldozers which mangled the bodies so badly that many could not be identified when they were dug up later. Massacres also took place in the villages of Alaminos, Tokhni, and Zyyi.

I have come here to speak on behalf of the parents of the 203 Turkish Cypriots who were abducted by Greek Cypriot terrorists from their jobs or homes before 1974 and for more than 600 Turkish-Cypriots who disappeared without trace in 1974.

But more specifically, I have come here to speak on behalf of Hüseyin Salih Tugyay and his wife, parents of missing persons whom I personally interviewed. In 1974, the Tugyays lived in the village of Zyyi, in southern Cyprus. On August 14, 1974, a large number of armed EOKA-B men rounded up most of the male population of Zyyi and the neighboring villages of Mari and Tokhni. Fifty of the men, including the four sons and a son-in-law of Yusuf Hüseyin Kaderoglu of Tokhni, were shot; 34 vanished altogether. These included the Tugyay's three sons, Mehmet, Taner, and Erol, aged 29, 27, and 25. Their youthful faces, which smile joyfully at the visitor from pictures prominently displayed in the Tugyay home, contrast sharply with the sorrowful and care-worn countenances of their parents.

In its issue of February 7, 1979, the Greek Cypriot newspaper Makhi declared that Turkish Cypriots are only dogs. Well, I can tell you that these dogs cry very human tears. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Professor. Ahmet Sandigcioglu is our next witness. Mr. Sandigcioglu would like to speak next, is that correct?

Mr. SANDIGCIOGLU. That's correct.

The CHAIRMAN. OK. Do you have a statement also?

Mr. SANDIGCIOGLU. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. Could you provide us——

Mr. SANDIGCIOGLU. A brief one.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have an extra copy?

Mr. SANDIGCIOGLU. No; but I'll be very happy to get it afterward.

The CHAIRMAN. OK. Thank you.

Mr. SANDIGCIOGLU. My name is Ahmet Sandigcioglu. I'm the director of public relations for the Federation of Turkish-American Society, which represents the total Turkish-Cypriot membership in the tri-state area.

Mr. Chairman, although we on the Turkish-Cypriot side came to know about this hearing only 48 hours ago, I should like to say we are very pleased to be part of it.

On this 11th anniversary of the Turkish intervention in Cyprus, I think it is good to reflect on its positive achievement as well. The two purposes of intervention were; first, to protect the Turkish-Cypriot population from further harm, and second, to bring about the downfall of the Nikos Sampson dictatorship and the reestablishment of the viable bicommunal government on the island. The first of these aims has been fully realized.

After 10 years of brutal repression by the Greek Cypriot Government, in which hundreds of Turkish Cypriots lost their lives, the Turkish Cypriot community has enjoyed a decade of peace and tranquility. Indeed, Cyprus is the only major trouble spot in the world today, where for 10 years, no one has died violently.

The second aim has been at least partially realized. The Nikos Sampson tyranny crumbled in the wake of Turkish intervention. Since then, the serious communal talks have taken place, sponsored by U.N. Secretary General, both Waldheim and Perez de Cuellar. In 1974, this came close to finding a solution to the Cyprus problem. During the final rounds of negotiations, Secretary General Perez de Cuellar wrote:

> Major political decisions were taken, and I have to report that the Turkish Cypriot side conveyed to me a position, which both with respect to the constitutional as well as territorial aspects, substantially improved from the one which it maintained in previous years.

Secretary of State Shultz also complimented the Turkish Cypriots for showing considerable flexibility in the talks. The President of Cyprus said this as well; he said, "Everything is fine, our side has obtained the best possible conditions." Even, Mr. Chairman, the Greek Prime Minister, George Papandreou himself, who is well known for his systematic objection or position to the peaceful negotiations, himself had to concede on January 2, 1985, that the Turkish Cypriot side had, in his own words, "Undoubtedly made significant steps in the direction of viable and just settlement of the Cyprus problem."

Although Mr. Papandreou later changed his mind and refused to honor a draft agreement, the Greek Cypriot House of Representatives found the agreement acceptable, and since has been putting much pressure on the Greek Cypriot President to sign it afterward.

May I also report that some of the progress has also taken place in the case of the missing persons issue which has been discussed here. The Committee on Missing Persons now has a new third member, Ambassador Paul Whitt of Switzerland, and the committee is meeting regularly, files are being presented by both sides, and investigations are proceeding at a satisfactory pace.

Mr. Chairman, you have a listing of 1,809 people missing from the Greek side, but the Cypriot side, Turkish-Cypriot side, a listing of 800 submitted to the same Commission. You can easily obtain this one from the Commission. Of course, we sincerely sympathize with the sufferings of individuals and families on the subject of missing persons, it is tragic. I have listened to them carefully, but it is not a Greek Cypriot tragedy alone, it's also a Turkish Cypriot tragedy. The Turkish Cypriot community was the first to have experienced the agony of missing persons in the Cyprus history. Names, places and witnesses has been, and will be presented on the Turkish Cypriot side too, but after 11 years, we feel it is the responsibility of the authorities to resolve these grievances, the Committee on Missing Persons, as agreed by both sides.

We also believe that the Greek Cypriot side has——

The CHAIRMAN. May I ask you one question?

Mr. SANDIGCIOGLU. Yes, please.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you aware of any case on either side that has been resolved by the Committee on Missing Persons?

Mr. SANDIGCIOGLU. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many cases?

Mr. SANDIGCIOGLU. So far, first of all, I would like to indicate that third person that joined the committee, this is a new situation; 1 month ago, this third person has been approved by Turkish Cypriots 6 months ago, and waited for the approval from the Greek side. Due to that factor, the committee was not in a position to proceed. However, you asked a question; 108 cases have been resolved, and 60 to Turkish and 108 to Greeks.

The CHAIRMAN. You're saying 108 cases have been resolved as a result of the committee's work. Of those 108, are any encompassed in the list of missing persons, the one with 1,606 names, that has been issued?

Mr. SANDIGCIOGLU. I am not in a position to answer this question. Just before coming to this committee, I anticipated a question of this nature, and then I want to find out how many cases, and then progress has been slow to your answer——

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever seen this booklet? Would you show this to Mr. Sandigcioglu? I am wondering if you've seen this list of the missing 1,600. My reason for asking if you have, is that we would like to make a copy available to you. We don't want to create more controversy. We'd like to be constructive. We'll keep the record open. If the Committee on Missing Persons has resolved any of those cases with respect to the 1,600-plus, we'd like to know which ones. We'd like to know what the action of the committee has been on these cases.

Mr. SANDIGCIOGLU. I think this is a tremendously nice proposition, and we'll be grateful to have a copy.

The CHAIRMAN. Fine. We'll make a copy for you. We'll get it to you. We'll keep the record open, and we'd like to know how many of the 108 or thereabouts come from this list of 1,600 missing people

Please continue.

Mr. SANDIGCIOGLU. Thank you. As I was saying, that we also believe that the Greek Cypriot side is in a unique position to make two more corrections toward the missing persons issue, by submitting to the committee, of yourself or anybody who would be interested in this missing persons situation; No. 1, a listing of the dead which occurred during the fight among the Greek Cypriots themselves between July 15 and 19, and if this list were available, we would be able to eliminate some of the names. Right now, if you receive this statement that you might be interested in giving us, we would be able to find certain items perhaps, we will be very willing to do, but at the same time additional true listing would be necessary to look at the case more serious and sincerely. One would be listing of the dead which, as I indicated, occurred between July 15 and 19; the second listing, of the people who were buried still alive, according to the religious leader Papatsestos, in December 18, 1974 statement he made to President Makarios at the time. These listings officially or unofficially have not been available to anyone. I think it is very important. This way we would know whether there are excessive additions or duplications of the listings.

I'd like to conclude with the statement that our belief is that an equitable solution to the Cyprus problem could only be achieved through meaningful negotiation between Turkish and Greek Cypriots on the island, and show readiness to accept the other as equal political partners, exercising their rights in full without being hampered by threats or intimidation.

As Father Constantinides indicated before, Cyprus should be left for Cypriots.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. YOUSSOUF. Just for some background information which would be——

The CHAIRMAN. Just for the record, please give us your name.

Mr. YOUSSOUF. Joseph D. Youssouf. I am the son of a Turkish Cypriot who emigrated to the United States in 1929. He lived in a mixed Greek and Turkish village. I have a large family on the island of Cyprus, and I became interested in the island of Cyprus after I became an attorney-at-law practicing in the State of New Jersey. It fascinates me because I've always loved history. It intrigued me because of my profession as a lawyer. The problem is legal, historical, social, and extremely complex, and as the Senator is well aware, no one-side ever has the complete corner on justice or truth. No one-side ever is without blame. No one-side is ever without fault.

Senator, to understand the tragedy of Cyprus, I submit, it is very important to understand that the Cyprus problem did not begin with the Turkish intervention of July 1974 and that its origins go back to the 1950's when the Greek Cypriots, supported by Greece, began an armed insurrection to end British colonial rule and to unite the island with Greece. The Turkish Cypriots opposed the struggle for union with Greece, ENOSIS, and, consequently, were attacked by the Greek Cypriot terrorist organization EOKA. As ENOSIS was impossible while the Turkish Cypriots and Turkey rejected it, an independent Cypriot state was eventually recognized as the only solution. The Republic of Cyprus, which was established in 1960, was the product of a compromise involving the two national communities in Cyprus, Turkey, Greece, and the United Kingdom.

The constitution of the new state, which was developed by a joint constitutional commission chaired by a Swiss professor of international law and composed of legal experts from Greece, Turkey, and the Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities, formally recognized the existence of two distinct national communities in Cyprus and institutionalized bicommunality as the basis of the Cypriot Republic. Executive power was divided between a Greek Cypriot president and a Turkish Cypriot vice president, each elected by their respective communities. The unicameral legislature, created pursuant to the terms of this new constitution, was apportioned 70 percent to the Greek community and 30 percent to the Turkish community. There was a similar allocation of posts in the civil service and the judiciary. However, the two communities were autonomous in their communal affairs. In sum, this constitution represented a careful attempt to ensure the political and human rights of all citizens of the Republic of Cyprus. Additionally, a treaty of guarantee was executed by the United Kingdom, Greece, and Turkey. By this treaty the independence, territorial integrity, and security of the Republic of Cyprus was insured. It was the express intention of the guarantors to prevent the union of Cyprus with any foreign power.

The Turkish Cypriot people sincerely hoped that the bicommunal partnership government would function in accordance with the terms of the constitution. They hoped that the system of checks and balances contained in the constitution would preserve their basic human rights and allow them to live in peace and prosperity. Unfortunately, their hopes were betrayed and their worst fears were realized by subsequent events.

The Greek Cypriots elected to office under the new constitution betrayed the terms of that constitution and attempted to use their governmental authority to attain a goal which they had officially renounced, namely, union with Greece. In fact, Archbishop Makarios, who had been elected the first President of the Republic of Cyprus, had never abandoned his commitment to ENOSIS. He revealed his attitude toward the Turkish population of Cyprus on September 14, 1962, when he publicly stated:

> Unless this small Turkish community forming a part of the Turkish race which has been the terrible enemy of Hellenism is expelled, the duty of the heroes of EOKA can never be considered as terminated.

It is interesting and alarming to note that the President of this newly created Republic, within 2 years after its creation publicly called for the expulsion of the entire Turkish Cypriot community from the island and supported a self-avowed terrorist organization, EOKA, which had fought for union with Greece. Such anti-Turkish racist sentiments were also expressed by other Greek Cypriot officials and one of these, Polykarpos Yorgadjis, the Minister of Interior, went so far as to say that there was ". . . no place in Cyprus for anyone who is not Greek, who does not think Greek and who does not constantly feel Greek."

Imagine the sense of outrage and anger which would occur in our country if elected public officials, sworn to uphold basic constitutional principles, publicly urged the subversion of those principles and engaged in racist diatribes. Is there any wonder that Turkish Cypriots viewed their future with apprehension and feared for their basic human rights?

The fears of the Turkish Cypriot community engendered by these statements were exacerbated in November 1963 when the President of the Republic proposed constitutional amendments which were intended to deprive Turkish Cypriots of their basic constitutional rights. When the Turkish Cypriots rejected these amendments, the Greek Cypriots launched an armed attack throughout the island against their partners in the bicommunal Republic.

It is clear now that the demands for constitutional amendments and the subsequent violence directed against the Turkish-Cypriot community were orchestrated and implemented in accordance with a written program, the infamous Akritas plan. This plan which was intended to effectuate the dissolution of the Republic of Cyprus leading to ENOSIS was drawn up by the Greek Cypriot leadership and Akritas was none other than the Minister of the Interior, Polykarpos Yorgadjis.

According to official records, during the 1963–64 crisis hundreds of Turkish Cypriots were killed and more than one-quarter of the Turkish Cypriot population fled their homes, often leaving behind all their worldly goods. As a result of acts of violence and terrorism and a policy of discrimination ruthlessly pursued by the Greek Cypriot community which claimed to be the "Government of Cyprus," the island was effectively divided and Turkish Cypriots huddled together in armed enclaves surrounded by hostile and heavily armed Greek Cypriot Forces.

Between 1963 and 1974 the Turkish Cypriot community was systematically deprived of basic constitutional and human rights. The vice president and the Turkish Cypriot representatives in the legislature were prevented from participating in the Government. Turkish Cypriot judges and civil servants were similarly prevented from carrying out their duties. Under the guise of maintaining law and order, the Turkish Cypriot community was subjected to an economic blockade. U Thant, former Secretary General of the United Nations observed that the economic restrictions imposed against Turkish Cypriots amounted to a veritable siege and that the Greek Cypriots were seeking to force a potential solution by economic pressure as a substitute for military action.

Turkish Cypriot enclaves were closely guarded. People entering and exiting Turkish villages were frequently subjected to close bodily searches and lengthy interrogations. The Turkish Cypriot community was deprived of building materials, foodstuffs, clothing, electricity, and basic sanitary services. Turkish Cypriot mail was interrupted for years and when restored was subjected to stringent censorship. All of these violations of Cypriot law were perpetrated by the very people who had sworn allegiance to the constitution of the Republic of Cyprus. As is so often the case, the victims of intentional discriminatory practices were portrayed as dangerous criminals who had to be suppressed for the welfare of the state.

During the period between 1964 and 1967 Cyprus was virtually under the occupation of Greece which had infiltrated approximately 20,000 well-armed and trained troops into Cyprus. They were officered by Greek nationals and commanded by the notorious General Grivas, a self-proclaimed pro-ENOSIS fanatic, who had led the EOKA terrorists before 1960 and who believed that military force should be used to crush Turkish Cypriot resistance and to unite Cyprus with Greece.

According to U.N. documents, more than 600 shooting incidents took place in Cyprus during the year 1967 and a number of Turkish villages were attacked by Greek and Greek Cypriot Forces. These wanton acts of violence resulted in the Turkish Government issuing warnings to the military junta which had come to power in Greece. Due to American intervention, a war between Greece and Turkey was averted. The events of 1967, however, further polarized the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities and on December 28, 1967, a provisional Turkish Cypriot Administration was established to preserve the integrity, safety, and well-being of the Turkish Cypriot community.

By 1970 Archbishop Makarios realized that the goal of ENOSIS would not be easily attained in view of the commitment of the Turkish Cypriot people to their constitution and the commitment of the Republic of Turkey to its treaty obligations. However, this had the effect of dividing the Greek Cypriot community. Between 1970 and 1974 terrorists, dedicated to the concept of ENOSIS, mounted terrorist attacks against Greek Cypriots who were perceived to be too moderate. Those same terrorists even plotted the assassination of Archbishop Makarios. Finally, in July 1974, a coup d'etat, directed and fully supported by the Greek junta, removed Makarios and installed as President, Nikos Sampson, a man who had been a notorious EOKA terrorist before the establishment of the Republic and who had won election to the Greek Cypriot House of Representatives in 1969 on the slogan "Death to the Turks." The rise to power of this fanatical, anti-Turkish racist destroyed all remaining illusions about the rule of law in Cyprus. It was clear to the Turkish Cypriot community that they were in immediate peril.

I'd like to at this point digress briefly to read something that had been referenced before. This is the text of the statement that had been attributed to a Greek priest. This is an extract from an interview granted by Papatsestos, and excuse my pronunciation, the priest in charge of the Nicosia Greek cemetery, which was reproduced in the local Greek newspapers, dated February 28, 1962, 2 days after the coup, and he's referring to the Nikos Sampson coup.

> I witnessed something which was perhaps the most terrible thing I saw, I saw a young Greek Cypriot buried alive. That was when two junta officers came to my

> house and ordered me to accompany them to the cemetery. I thought they were going to kill me, but they said they only wanted me for burying some dead people. In the cemetery there were two open graves and two bodies lying beside them. I went to see if I could recognize them. One was dead, but the other, a curly-haired fair-complexioned 18-year-old youth, had moved. Startled, I turned back and shouted, "But officer, this man is alive." The officer said, "Shut up, you dirty priest, or I will shut you up for good." The officer retorted, then the shot was fired. I swear to God that they buried this youth while he was still alive.

This sworn testimony from a Greek ecclesiastic indicates the extent of barbarity that prevailed prior to the Turkish intervention in 1974.

It's indicative not of the attitude of the Greek Cypriot community, nor of the attitude of mainland Greece, but what happens in wartime stressful conditions when the rule of law is subverted and supplemented by the rule of force.

Before Turkey intervened, and this is extremely important, Turkey went to its joint guarantor powers, it went to Athens and it went to the British Government and it even came to the United States, and asked for participation in a joint effort to enforce the provisions of the Treaty of Guarantee. Britain refused to cooperate, the U.S. Government for its part was ambivalent and unfortunately ineffective. Special representatives Thomas Hutchins [phonetic] who was scheduled to be here today, shed a lot of light on that issue, claiming that our Government was scandalized by the Watergate problem at the time.

Acting pursuant to the Treaty of Guarantee, the Turkish Government formally requested the British Government to participate in a joint effort to enforce the provisions of that treaty. Britain refused to cooperate. The U.S. Government for its part was ambivalent and ineffective. The formal demise of the Republic of Cyprus and its incorporation into Greece seemed imminent. The Turkish Cypriots knew from their history that there was now a very real possibility that they would soon be attacked and either evicted from their homeland or killed. Acting according to a valid international treaty, the Turkish Government ordered its troops to carry out a "Peace Operation" intended to preserve the independence of Cyprus and to prevent its annexation by Greece, while simultaneously protecting the Turkish Cypriot community.

The Turkish intervention in Cyprus provoked an immediate and hostile response by the U.S. Congress. It is truly ironic that the Turkish intervention which provoked a harsh reaction in America was later described by the Athens Court of Appeals in a decision dated March 21, 1979 as follows:

> The Turkish military intervention in Cyprus, which was carried out in accordance with the Zurich and London accords was legal. Turkey as one of the guarantor powers had the right to fulfill her obligations. The real culprits . . . are the Greek officers who engineered and staged a coup and prepared the conditions for this intervention.

Between 1974 and 1983 the situation in Cyprus stabilized and there was no intercommunal violence. With the safety of the Turkish Cypriot community finally assured, an atmosphere conducive to negotiations and the achievement of a just and lasting settlement prevailed. Unfortunately, the Greek Cypriot community refused to move toward a settlement, preferring instead to continue to pose as "the Government of Cyprus" while imposing an economic embargo against the Turkish Cypriots. As a result, neither the intercommunal negotiations which took place during this period nor the summit meetings between Mr. Denktas and Archbishop Makarios in February 1977 and between Mr. Denktas and Mr. Kyprianou in May 1979 opened the way to a final settlement.

By 1983 it was obvious that the continuing Greek Cypriot intransigence would prevent an equitable settlement of the Cyprus problem. The Turkish Cypriots felt compelled to take a dramatic step which would bring their plight and position to the attention of the world. To this end, they issued the Turkish Cypriot Declaration of Statehood of November 15, 1983. It is accurate and helpful to view it in light of basic American political principles. It is fundamental American doctrine that government exists by the consent of the governed and that a government's primary purpose is the preservation of life and liberty. A government must treat all of its citizens as equals under the law to retain its validity. These ideals were most eloquently expressed in the American Declaration of Independence.

If you were a member of the Turkish Cypriot community, how would you have reacted to the deprivation of your basic human rights, the repeated violations of your constitutional rights and the loss of your property and livelihood? It is respectfully submitted that if fundamental American political and legal principles are applied to the situation which existed on the island of Cyprus prior to 1983, the conclusion is inescapable that the Turkish Cypriot community acted properly when it declared its independence.

Despite its declaration of statehood however, the Turkish Cypriot community has been willing to participate in the creation of a federal republic and has actively solicited Greek Cypriot cooperation in this regard. The proposed Federal republic would be an independent, nonaligned, bicommunal, bizonal state. Such a solution seemed to be imminent when the leaders of the two national communities in Cyprus came to New York in January 1985 for a high level meeting. During three rounds of proximity talks with Mr. Denktas and Mr. Kyprianou, between September and December 1984, the Secretary General of the United Nations had produced a draft agreement. Even Mr. Papandreou of Greece has been forced to concede that the Turkish Cypriot side had indeed made significant steps in the direction of a viable and just settlement of the Cyprus problem. Unfortunately, at the very first meeting with Mr. Denktas on January 17, 1985, Mr. Kyprianou raised fundamental objections to each and every paragraph of the draft agreement and refused to endorse the document. These actions by Mr. Kyprianou ensured the failure of the summit.

In view of these facts, can it be seriously alleged that Turkey is responsible for the current situation in Cyprus? Can it be seriously maintained that the Turkish Cypriots are responsible for the current stalemate? It is respectfully submitted that the answer to both questions is a resounding, "No."

Finally, Senator, I must emphasize that as an American citizen, and as a man whose career is law, I believe that equal justice and equal protection under the law are the essential characteristics of any civilized society and any culture that chooses to call itself civilized.

It is clear that horror stories of brutality exist. When I was in Cyprus in 1982, I spoke with a relative whose husband disappeared in 1974, last seen being taken into the field by Greek soldiers and never to be seen again. I spoke with an uncle who had formerly been employed by the British as a police officer, and who, as an old man of 75 years, was publicly humiliated with a group of his villagers by being paraded through Greek Cypriot communities in a truck, in chains, pursued by the chants of "Death to the Turks." Those horror stories are terrible to contemplate and realize, they're not imaginative, and the horror stories you've heard today, Senator, are undoubtedly true in many respects. We join with you and the Commission in condemning acts of violence and the subversion of the rule of law, but in placing blame exclusively on Turkey for their intervention, and characterizing it as a savage, illegal act, I must respectfully disagree.

The facts are clear, the record replete. Given an opportunity, Senator, I would produce witnesses and in a quasi-judicial setting, place them under oath and have them swear to you what they witnessed and what they say, to prove the point that justice does not reside exclusively with one side in this controversy.

What is necessary at this point, is that the wounds of war be healed, and the discovery of what happened to the 803 Turks who are missing, and the 1,600 or 1,800 Greek Cypriots, is important, what happens to President Spiro Kyprianou [phonetic] is important, because it salves the wounds of war.

The ultimate political settlement on Cyprus, I respectfully submit, will probably be a partition of two independent states, I don't know that. As an American, and as an attorney, I support constitutional government, but that issue is not really before this Committee today. What is before this Committee today, as the Senator so aptly noted, is the violations of human rights. The history of the island is replete with that.

As I said over and over again today, the answer is at hand. Peace prevails today, and we join in working with our Greek Cypriot brethren in resolving the history of what happened to all those missing people and the tragedy that it produced. We decry horror. The Turks are not marauders, they are not the sackers of Constantinople anymore, they are a civilized race of people, governing themselves by law, and I believe that the Turkish community in the United States fully supports the intentions of this Committee and all it asks in return is evenhanded, fair treatment so that the Turkish people and the Greek people no longer suffer as a result of the history of that tragic island.

Thank you, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me say that it obviously is not within the jurisdiction of this Commission to deal with the governments and/or occupation of Cyprus. However, we do have jurisdiction over the human rights violations that do exist. One of the most fundamental aspects of human rights on Cyprus is the issue of the missing 1,600-odd Greek Cypriots who are missing, and the 800 Turkish Cypriots that you list. That is an area where I think we have an absolute obligation to use the Commission and its resources to highlight the failure to deal in any meaningful way with this situation.

To date, there's been little action. This is a human rights matter that we are reviewing here. This is not a political seminar. I would ask that we stop the business of utilizing the missing people as a political instrument or tool. I can see no bona fide reason why those who are attempting to mediate the situation with respect to the occupation of Cyprus must use the issue of the missing for political purposes.

By the way, there's no doubt in this Senator's mind that Cyprus is being occupied. There are those who would say it's being occupied for good reasons. There are those who would say the occupation has outlived its original rationale.

The United Nations has failed in any way to alleviate that situation. Indeed, the United Nations has failed to resolve the most obvious of issues, an issue on which there should be unanimity on both sides. This is the effort to bring about an accounting of the missing.

Whether it's the professor or the distinguised counsel, or the spokesman for the Federation of Turkish-American Societies, the fact remains that, just as we have seen the Vietnamese use our MIA's almost for political propaganda, I would suggest that the same situation exists today concerning the Cyprus missing persons. I suggest that unless we resolve this issue, there'll never be any peace. Cyprus will remain torn. The hatreds will continue to build. The legacy will be one of total disdain for even the most basic and fundamental human rights.

No one can bring back those who have been slaughtered. Certainly, an accounting can be made. Are they alive? Have they lost their lives? That is the very least that should be done. Failing that, why then, I would suggest that the future will be bleak.

We talk about human rights. Obviously, governments control the ability of people to visit other areas. They control the ability of people to live in their homes and to practice their religion. All of those things can be and often are impaired by a government that decides to suppress the rights of one group as opposed to another. That takes place, and it has taken place. It's taking place today on Cyprus.

It is not enough to say, "Well, there are terrible things taking place on both sides, and consequently, we feel that there was justification for intervention." This is 11 years later. You may say the Turkish landing was justified intervention, others say it was an unjustified attack.

Eleven years have gone by. Homes have been disrupted. The normal process of daily living has gone by the way.

We see a new state declared, unilaterally, in northern Cyprus. That action has this Senator troubled, very troubled, and I think it should trouble everybody in this room. It doesn't matter whether they come as Greek-Americans or Turkish-Americans, whether they come as Turkish Cypriots, or Greek Cypriots.

I think that if there was one common thread that could be heard in the words of all those who have testified, it is that Cyprus should be for the Cypriots. There should be constitutional guarantees for the rights of all. There should be the rule of the majority, while giving true and adequate consideration for the rights of the minority.

Now, those principles are principles that I can believe that everyone should be capable of supporting. The implementation of those principles on Cyprus is obviously difficult. Our State Department has not been nearly as strong as it could and should be in pushing for resolution of the missing persons cases. I don't think that the United Nations has done any thing in this area it could be proud of. There may now be a U.N. Commission that may have some hope of moving forward. Certainly, this is better late than never, but I would like to see some real action before this Senator can feel that we're headed in the right direction.

We're going to pursue the case of Mr. Kassapis and his son. If we can't resolve a case that cries out for justice, then we all should be ashamed of ourselves. Regardless of what our particular point of view as to who caused or who didn't cause the problems, or whether the response was what it should be, now is the time to resolve this case.

Again, we will make available to you the list of those missing. If you would do so, we'll keep the record open so that you can respond to our questions. The Chair would like to thank all who have participated. I take note of the fact that this is a Saturday morning. People have come from long distances to be here, to testify at this hearing. The Commission intends to hold further hearings, using this initial hearing as a basis for continuing to work on this serious problem. Hopefully, we can serve as an instrument to rectify some of those injustices that still continue on Cyprus, Again, we thank all for their participation.

We'll hold the record open for at least 30 days so that people can make submissions to the Commission. We now stand in recess.

[Whereupon the hearing stood in recess.]

APPENDIX 1

CYPRUS

Cyprus has been divided since 1974 when Turkish military intervention followed a coup d'etat directed from Greece which brought down the elected Government of President Makarios. Since that time, the Government of Cyprus has been able to exercise full control over only about two-thirds of the country's territory. About one-third of Cyprus is governed by an autonomous administration supported by the presence of Turkish military units. On November 15, 1983, this administration declared itself the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus," which is recognised by no country except Turkey. The Turkish intervention of 1974 caused an uprooting of many members of the larger Greek Cypriot population from areas now under Turkish Cypriot control, as well as the smaller Turkish Cypriot population in the Greek Cypriot-controlled south. Both involved loss of lives, homes, and means of livelihood. The Greek Cypriots point to these displacements, as well as to the unwillingness of the Turkish Cypriot authorities to allow resettlement of Greek Cypriots in the north, as the fundamental human rights question in Cyprus today. The Turkish Cypriots assert that the 1974 intervention was legal and point to violations of their human rights under the political system existing before 1974. The subsequent regrouping of the two communities in separate parts of the island, according to Turkish Cypriots, was necessary for their security and for the eventual establishment of a federal structure of government for both communities.

The major human rights problem remaining from previous years is the issue of persons missing during the intercommunal strife of the 1960's and 1970's. Other unresolved problems are property ownership questions, the difficulty of travel between the sectors of the island, and the absence of freedom of settlement. Future human rights improvements in Cyprus will depend upon the ability of both parties to negotiate their differences and to agree on a basis for coexistence.

Despite unresolved issues, both the Government of Cyprus and the Turkish Cypriot Administration are democratic systems based on free elections, which guarantee basic human rights in theory and in practice. Both Cypriot economies are founded on the free enterprise system with stress on private initiative and the rights of property, although the Turkish Cypriot economy provides a far greater role for state enterprises.

RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

Section 1 Respect for the Integrity of the Person, Including Freedom from:

a. Political Killing

Political killings instigated by government or opposition groups have not occurred in Cyprus since 1974. Two terrorist murders took place in Cyprus in 1984, both apparently related to internal conflicts within the Palestine Liberation Organization. On May 3, a Palestinian journalist, Hanna Muqbil, was murdered in Nicosia. On May 28-29, Ahmed Suleyman El-Saydy, allegedly a Palestinian fedayeen captain, was killed. No suspects were arrested in the first case, but several Syrian nationals were arrested in the second case and later deported as undesirables although no charges were brought.

b. Disappearance

Since 1974, there have been no reports of persons abducted, secretly arrested, or held in clandestine detention. However, the issue of persons missing as a result of the intercommunal troubles of 1974 remains a source of dispute between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities. A Committee on Missing Persons was established under the auspices of the U.N. Secretary General in 1981 to deal with the problem and, after 3 years of procedural disagreements, commenced regular substantive sessions in the spring of 1984. To date, the Committee has made no visible progress in putting the cases of the missing to rest.

c. Torture and Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment

Both the Cyprus Constitution and the basic document governing the Turkish Cypriot community specifically prohibit torture. Freedom from cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment is guaranteed by law and respected in practice in both communities. Adequate health care is provided in prison and detention facilities, and diet is considered normal. Family members may visit those in detention. After sentencing, prisoners may be visited once a month, or more frequently where humanitarian needs exist. Attorneys may visit prisoners freely.

d. Arbitrary Arrest, Detention, or Exile

Freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention is guaranteed by law and respected in practice by both the Government of Cyprus and Turkish Cypriot authorities. The right of habeas corpus is observed. Preventive detention does not exist in law, nor has it been reported in practice. No individual may be held for more than 3 days for investigation of a crime without referral of the case to the court for extension of the period of detention. Most periods of investigative detention do not exceed 8 or 10 days before formal charges are filed. No instance of exile was reported. There are no political prisoners on Cyprus.

e. Denial of Fair Public Trial

In both communities, fair public trial is guaranteed by law. The judiciary is independent of executive or military control. Cases are generally tried before a judge or panel of judges, although a request for a jury trial is usually granted. There are no special courts to deal with security or political offenses. Civilians are not tried by military courts.

f. Arbitrary Interference with Privacy, Family, Home, or Correspondence

Both the Cyprus Constitution and the basic document governing the Turkish Cypriot community provide guarantees protecting the individual against arbitrary interference. A judicial warrant is required, for example, for an official to enter a private residence. Abuses of privacy run counter to the democratic traditions of both communities. However, Turkish

Cypriots complain that mail coming through the Government of Cyprus postal system is often delayed, opened, or not delivered.

Section 2 Respect for Civil Rights, Including:

a. Freedom of Speech and Press

These rights are guaranteed by law and are widely and freely practiced. The press is free throughout the island, and it represents the entire political spectrum. Opposition papers frequently criticize both the governing authorities and their own leadership. There is no press censorship.

Radio and television in south and north Cyprus are controlled by the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot authorities respectively. Although opposition and minority parties complain--not without cause--that they do not receive sufficient attention in the local media, the proliferation of party and independent newspapers in both communities enables their ideas and arguments to circulate easily.

b. Freedom of Peaceful Assembly and Association

The right, based on law, to associate, organize, and hold meetings is respected in practice. Trade unions and confederations, both non-Communist and Communist, are free to organize on both sides of the Green Line, which divides the island between the two communities. Labor authorities are required by law to mediate disputes in cases which cannot be solved through normal collective bargaining. All Cypriot workers are permitted to strike, although the Turkish Cypriot community "legislature" has the power to invalidate a strike for a specific period of time. Two strikes in the Turkish Cypriot area, one in citrus packing houses and one in the "state" tourism industry, were declared illegal in 1984. In both cases, the strikes were quickly settled through the intervention of the "Ministry of Labor and Social Security." The unions charged that the invalidation of their strikes, which occurred at the height of demand in seasonal enterprises, hurt their bargaining ability.

Unions on both sides freely take part in international meetings. The Government of Cyprus has taken a particularly active role in the International Labor Organization. Labor unions, more than most other organizations on Cyprus, attempt to maintain contact and cooperation across the Green Line.

c. Freedom of Religion

Freedom of religion exists in Cyprus. However, the Greek Orthodox Church in the south has the character of a state institution due to the historical role of the leader of the church, the ethnarch, as the spiritual leader of his people. The non-Greek Orthodox in the south enjoy certain advantages, chiefly exclusion from compulsory military service. As a result of the population exchange following the events of 1974, there are approximately 100 Turkish Cypriots still living in the south, who are allowed to practice their religion freely. In the north, non-Muslims include members of the Christian Maronite minority, a small number of remaining Greek Cypriots, and foreign residents, all of whom are free to practice their religion. Apart from the fact that members of the minority cannot serve in the Greek Cypriot armed forces, there is no discrimination based on membership or lack of membership in a particular faith.

d. Freedom of Movement Within the Country, Foreign Travel, Emigration, and Repatriation

Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots enjoy general freedom of movement within their respective areas. Turkish Cypriot authorities restrict travel into or out of the Turkish Cypriot area. They bar Greeks and Greek Cypriots from entering the north and Turkish Cypriots from visiting the south, except when traveling for humanitarian, medical, or other special reasons. The applications of Greek Cypriot residents to visit the south are usually granted but they are generally not allowed to return. Foreigners coming from the south must obtain advance permission to enter the north. Greek Cypriot authorities also restrict the travel of foreigners. They may bar the entry into the Greek Cypriot area of foreigners who arrive at Turkish Cypriot ports or who stay overnight in the north. Special regulations apply to journalists.

The right to travel abroad and to emigrate is observed, although in both communities individuals facing military service or legal action may not be allowed to travel. Turkish Cypriots have difficulty in traveling to some countries because their travel documents, issued by the Turkish Cypriot authorities, are not recognized by most countries, including the United States. Citizens may repatriate freely, although both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots returning from long stays abroad may be liable for military service if this obligation previously has not been met.

Some refugees from Turkey and Eastern Europe come to Cyprus and are usually sent on to third countries as soon as arrangements for their resettlement can be made.

Section 3 Respect for Political Rights: The Right of Citizens to Change Their Government

Both the Government of Cyprus and the administration of the Turkish Cypriot community are democratically elected by their people. They have lively multiparty political systems in which parties, actively and without restriction, compete for popular support. Greek Cypriots and Maronites living in the north--the latter having chosen before 1960 to be regarded as members of the Greek Cypriot community--do not participate in Turkish Cypriot elections, but elect their own village officials. They are eligible to vote in Greek Cypriot elections but must make their way to the south in order to exercise their right.

Women are less active in politics than men in both north and south, although this is due to custom rather than any legal impediment. No women in the north and only one in the south are members of Parliament, nor are there currently any women of ministerial rank in the north. A woman serves as Attorney General in the Republic of Cyprus Government. Two women currently serve as under secretaries in the Turkish Cypriot administration.

CYPRUS

Section 4 Governmental Attitude Regarding International and Non-governmental Investigation of Alleged Violations of Human Rights

Cyprus participates actively in the work of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights. For several years the question of human rights in Cyprus, as it relates to the events of 1974, has been on the Commission's agenda but, by agreement of the parties directly concerned, has been regularly postponed. However, the Greek Cypriot Government raised the still unresolved question of missing persons, alleging that some 2,000 Greek Cypriots have remained unaccounted for since the events of 1974. The Committee on Missing Persons, established under U.N. auspices in 1981, began regular substantive sessions in the spring of 1984 to determine the fate or whereabouts of the missing. Representatives of international human rights organizations have open access to both the south and the north.

Amnesty International did not mention Cyprus in its 1984 report. Freedom House rates the Greek Cypriot portion "free," while it rates the Turkish portion "partly free" because of the Turkish military occupation.

ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL SITUATION

The Greek Cypriot economy is free enterprise oriented, with minimal government participation or regulation. The economy is based on manufacturing, trade, tourism and services, construction, and agriculture, with per capita gross national product at about $3,800. The Turkish Cypriot economy, closely linked to that of Turkey, is a mixture of state-owned and private enterprises. It suffers from problems similar to those in Turkey, including high inflation, low investment, and significant underemployment.

Food, shelter, education, and health care are available to members of both communities regardless of race, religion, ethnic background, or political opinion. Both societies are essentially middle class, with a small but prominent wealthy segment. Housing is adequate and is available for displaced persons. Most Cypriots are covered by a national health service scheme organized by their respective authorities. Illiteracy is virtually unknown among persons below the age of 55. In both communities, the legal status of women is identical to that of men. However, custom has retarded the full participation of women in all aspects of public life. Politics, for example, has traditionally been a male preserve in both communities. Through changing attitudes and increasing contact with the outside world, however, women are experiencing increasing mobility.

U.S.OVERSEAS -LOANS AND GRANTS- OBLIGATIONS AND LOAN AUTHORIZATIONS
(U.S.FISCAL YEARS - MILLIONS OF DOLLARS)

COUNTRY: CYPRUS

	1982	1983	1984
I.ECON. ASSIST.-TOTAL...	15.0	15.0	15.0
LOANS..............	0.0	0.0	0.0
GRANTS.............	15.0	15.0	15.0
A.AID	15.0	15.0	15.0
LOANS..............	0.0	0.0	0.0
GRANTS.............	15.0	15.0	15.0
(SEC.SUPP.ASSIST.)...	15.0	15.0	15.0
B.FOOD FOR PEACE.......	0.0	0.0	0.0
LOANS..............	0.0	0.0	0.0
GRANTS.............	0.0	0.0	0.0
TITLE I-TOTAL..........	0.0	0.0	0.0
REPAY. IN $-LOANS.....	0.0	0.0	0.0
PAY. IN FOR. CURR.....	0.0	0.0	0.0
TITLE II-TOTAL.........	0.0	0.0	0.0
E.RELIEF.EC.DEV & WFP.	0.0	0.0	0.0
VOL.RELIEF AGENCY.....	0.0	0.0	0.0
C.OTHER ECON. ASSIST...	0.0	0.0	0.0
LOANS..............	0.0	0.0	0.0
GRANTS.............	0.0	0.0	0.0
PEACE CORPS......	0.0	0.0	0.0
NARCOTICS........	0.0	0.0	0.0
OTHER...........	0.0	0.0	0.0
II.MIL. ASSIST.-TOTAL...	0.0	0.0	0.0
LOANS..............	0.0	0.0	0.0
GRANTS.............	0.0	0.0	0.0
A.MAP GRANTS..........	0.0	0.0	0.0
B.CREDIT FINANCING....	0.0	0.0	0.0
C.INTL MIL.ED.TRNG....	0.0	0.0	0.0
D.TRAN-EXCESS STOCK...	0.0	0.0	0.0
E.OTHER GRANTS........	0.0	0.0	0.0
III.TOTAL ECON. & MIL...	15.0	15.0	15.0
LOANS..............	0.0	0.0	0.0
GRANTS.............	15.0	15.0	15.0

	1982	1983	1984
OTHER US LOANS..........	0.0	0.0	0.0
EX-IM BANK LOANS.......	0.0	0.0	0.0
ALL OTHER.............	0.0	0.0	0.0

ASSISTANCE FROM INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES

	1982	1983	1984	1946-84
TOTAL........	27.0	34.3	43.8	288.4
IBRD	12.2	26.2	43.8	242.7
IFC	2.5	0.0	0.0	6.1
IDA	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
IDB	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
ADB	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
AFDB	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
UNDP	0.3	0.1	0.0	18.8
OTHER-UN	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8
EEC	12.0	8.0	0.0	20.0

APPENDIX 2

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Nicosia

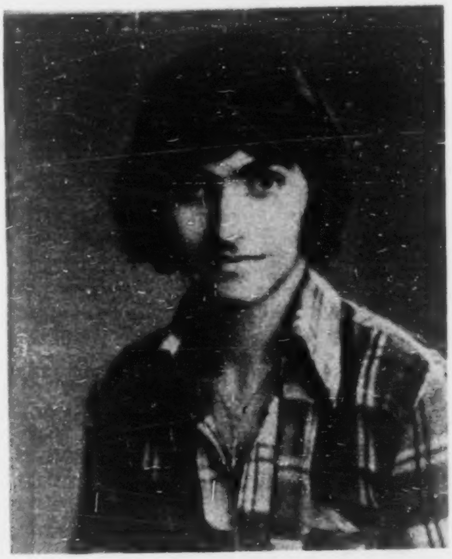
January 23, 1975

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

This is to certify that according to the records of this Embassy Andrew K. Kassapis is a United States citizen and was issued passport No. Z1821628 by this office on December 17, 1973 valid to December 16, 1978. Andrew K. Kassapis was born at Detroit, Michigan on February 22, 1957.

J. Michael O'Brien

J. Michael O'Brien
American Consul



DETROIT DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
Vital Statistics Division

SUPP. FATHER
7-25-62

CERTIFICATE OF LIVE BIRTH

MICHIGAN DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
Vital Records Section

BIRTH No. 121-

11

Wayne	Michigan Wayne
Detroit	Highland Park
Woman's Hospital	25 La Belle

ANDREAS K. Kassapis

MALE ☒ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ February 22 1957

FATHER OF CHILD

Costas Kassapis White

30 YEARS Isle of Cyprus Resturant Work Receiving House Detroit

MOTHER OF CHILD

Helen House White

33 YEARS Isle of Cyprus

Costas Kassapis 1 0

Elroy Y. Kasabach

852 David Whitney Bldg; Detroit 26, Mich. Feb 22, 1957

MAR 5 1957

I hereby certify that the foregoing is a true copy of the record on file in the Detroit Department of Health; attested by the raised seal of the City of Detroit.

Acting Health Commissioner

Division Head

Dated ____________

MEMO

Officials spoken to since 1974

Ex-Congressman Brademas
Congressman Sarbanes
Harrison Wellford - Assistant to Senator Phillip Hart

State Department

a. Mr. Laingen
b. Mr. Edward
c. Mr. Civers

Senator Eagleton
Ex-Senator Paul Tsongas
Senator Edward Kennedy
Senator Donald Riegle
Congressman William Ford
Congressman John Conyers, Jr.
Congressman Mario Biaggi
Senator Carl Levin
Congressman William Brodhead
Governor James Blanchard
and many others ....

Press

The Detroit News
The Detroit Free Press
Greek Accent

ABC News - Channel 7

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

AUG 16 1985

Dear Senator D'Amato:

As you requested at your July 20 CSCE hearing, the Department has reviewed the case of Andreas Kassapis, who disappeared in the course of the 1974 hostilities in Cyprus. According to our records, this is one of five unresolved cases of American citizens caught up in those events. Twenty other cases of Americans originally unaccounted for during that period in Cyprus have since been resolved.

Following notification of Andreas Kassapis' disappearance our Embassy in Nicosia raised the case repeatedly in August and September with Turkish Embassy and Turkish Cypriot authorities. According to them, Kassapis' name could not be found either on lists of prisoners or among the known dead.

Our Ambassador in Nicosia personally discussed the case at length with a senior Turkish Cypriot authority on four more occasions, the last of which was in January 1976. The Turkish Cypriot authority said he had checked both through official and informal channels and was unable to develop any specific information on Kassapis' fate, although he did have reports of deaths having occured in the area and at the time in which Andreas Kassapis disappeared.

Our Ambassador in Ankara also raised the case with the Turkish Foreign Minister on August 13, 1976 and the Foreign Minister recounted the steps Turkish authorities had taken at the request of the United States to locate missing American citizens who had been in northern Cyprus. The Foreign Minister could add no further information on the fate of Kassapis.

Our Ambassador in Nicosia discussed the case and our efforts with Mr. Costas Kassapis, Andreas' father, on July 17, 1979. The Ambassador wrote later that year to Congressman Biaggi, who had inquired on behalf of Mr. Kassapis, that further efforts to obtain additional information had been unsuccessful.

We had hoped that with the formation under UN auspices of the tripartite Committee on Missing Persons in 1981 that there might be progress toward resolving the status of those missing, including Andreas Kassapis. We are keenly disappointed that in over four years of work little has been achieved. Nonetheless, it remains our view that the Committee can play an important role. In recent months we have delivered letters concerning the Kassapis case to the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot representatives to the Committee.

The Honorable
Alfonse M. D'Amato,
United States Senate.

The Committee on Missing Persons is scheduled to resume its meetings later this month. We have urged the parties to work together constructively and sincerely to resolve these cases as a matter of urgent humanitarian concern. We will continue to do so.

I hope that this information is of assistance to you.

Sincerely,

James M. Montgomery
Acting Assistant Secretary
Legislative and Intergovernmental Affairs

ALFONSE M. D'AMATO
CHAIRMAN

STENY H. HOYER
CO-CHAIRMAN

COMMISSION ON
SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

MICHAEL R. HATHAWAY
STAFF DIRECTOR

237 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING, ANNEX 2
(202) 225-1901

September 10, 1985

The Honorable William L. Ball, III
Assistant Secretary of State
Office of Legislative and
Intergovernmental Affairs
U.S. Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Ball:

Enclosed please find a copy of the letter I have received from Mr. James M. Montgomery, Acting Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, with regard to the case of Andreas Kassapis, the American citizen who disappeared during the Turkish intervention on Cyprus in July-August 1974.

I note that according to Mr. Montgomery, specific representations by the United States Government on behalf of Andreas Kassapis took place in 1979. I would suggest that it is time for such representations to be renewed, inasmuch as, in Mr. Montgomery's words, "little has been achieved" through the work of the UN tri-partite Committee established to trace missing persons on Cyprus.

I note that letters concerning the Kassapis case have been delivered to the above-mentioned Committee, yet there does not seem to be any indication that the United States Government is actively pursuing this case through the Committee. I would ask that this be done and that you keep the Commission informed of progress in the Kassapis case and that of the other American citizens who, according to my information, also disappeared under similar circumstances. I am sure that the Department shares the concern of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe in this matter, and hope that it will be given high priority.

In addition, I would appreciate any material you have concerning the U.S. Government's support for the efforts to resolve the question of all the persons who disappeared on Cyprus as a result of the political upheavals on the island.

The Honorable William L. Ball, III September 10, 1985
Page Two

Thank you for your consideration and I look forward to your reply.

Sincerely,

Alfonse D'Amato

ALFONSE M. D'AMATO
Chairman

AMD/jf

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

SEPTEMBER 23 1985

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I am responding to your September 10 letter regarding Andreas Kassapis and other American citizens who disappeared in the course of the 1974 hostilities in Cyprus.

As Acting Assistant Secretary Montgomery stated in his August 16 letter to you, we have sought over the last eleven years to resolve the status of these missing American citizens. We believe that the tripartite Committee on Missing Persons, set up under UN auspices and now in session, can play an important role in dealing with this sensitive and difficult issue. The United States strongly supports the current efforts of the Committee to resolve the status of the missing of both communities.

We have been in contact with the UN, Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot members of the Committee. We have stressed the importance to us of the cases of Andreas Kassapis and other American citizens whose status remains unresolved. Our Ambassador in Nicosia will continue to raise these cases with members of the Committee. We will also continue to stress to all concerned the need to resolve the status of all missing.

Sincerely,

William L. Ball, III
Assistant Secretary
Legislative and Intergovernmental Affairs

The Honorable
Alfonse M. D'Amato,
Chairman, Commission on Security
and Cooperation in Europe,
United States Senate.

APPENDIX 3

A DRAMATIC APPEAL OF A MOTHER, SEEKING THE FATE OF HER FIVE-YEAR OLD CHILD WHO WAS LOST AFTER HE WAS TRANSFERRED TO A TURKISH HOSPITAL WHEN HE WAS INJURED IN THE LEG FROM TURKISH BULLETS

I appeal to you, mothers all over the world, because only you can feel the pain of an unfortunate mother who, for eight years now is seeking her lost child, Christakis Georghiou, five years old. My child disappeared from a Turkish hospital in the occupied Cyprus during the second phase of the Turkish invasion, after he was injured by Turkish bullets.

Mothers all over the world, many of you may have missing children as a result of a war, and you all live, I' m sure, in agony and doubtfulness for the fate of your lost child or children, just as I do. You also live with the hope that some day your lost child will return to you.

Raise your voice with me, raise the voice of your heart for justice and for the return of our missing children.

I have made appeals and followed all the necessary proceedings, in every possible direction and with all means available, to the Turkish Cypriot authorities in order to get an answer as to where my lost child is, whether he is alive or dead.

However, I think it would be better if I quoted the facts exactly the way they happened:

"My name is Myrophora. My husband's name is Georghios Loizou and I come from Palaekythro, a village in the Nicosia District of Cyprus.

I am the mother of six children, 4 girls and 2 boys. The youngest of my daughters died immediately after the Turkish invasion, at the age of 11, when she was having a surgical operation in the Nicosia General Hospital, in the non-occupied area. My youngest child, Christakis, born on 28th November, 1969, has been missing since 18th August, 1974. My husband, Georghios Loizou, 45 years old, has also been missing since 21st August, 1974.

.../2

On 15th August, 1974, Turkish soldiers occupied our village. On 16th August, 1974, they proceeded to cold bloodedly kill babies, children, women, men and olso old people.

On Saturday, 17th August, 1974, two young Turkish Cypriot soldiers from neighbouring villages came to our village and continued the same abhorent actions.

They also entered my house. I, with my two youngest daughters, 11 and 10 years old, ran into an uninhabited house which was next to our house, and hid ourselves. I also hid my two oldest daughters in the attic of the house so that the Turkish soldiers could not find them and rape them.

My husband together with my youngest son and three shepherds, who had come from neighbouring occupied villages with their herds, had gone early in the morning, before the two Turkish soldiers came, to the sheep-fold where the herds were, in order to feed them and milk them.

As soon as they heard the shootings they ran towards our house. The two shepherds and my child Christakis, entered the house. At the same moment the two Turkish Cypriot soldiers also got into our house and they shot the two shepherds and my son. One of the shepherds died immediately because he was shot in the head. The other one was shot in one of his thighs and Christakis was also shot in both legs.

After the two soldiers left I went home and I found my child badly injured in his right leg above the knee, and slightly injured in his left leg. I immediately rolled him up in a bath towel and ran to the school of the village where the Turkish soldiers had gathered all persons who had come to our village from other villages. There I found a Turkish officer and I showed him my child who was bleeding. He immediately gave orders that I should be taken to the hospital with my child in a land rover.

.../3

However, instead of taking us to the Turkish Hospital in Nicosia or to the Kyrenia Hospital, they took us to a temporary hospital at Dhikomo village. The Turkish doctor there at once injected a serum into my wounded child and stitched the slight wound on his left leg. His right leg had to be surgically operated on and this could not be done in that temporary hospital.

However, when they injected the serum, the child started crying and saying, "mother, I have pain-Ihave pain". Shortly afterwards the wound started bleeding again. As I saw my child bleeding, I fainted. When I opened my eyes, I saw the doctor holding my son up in his arms and they were wrapping him round with bandages up to his waist, while a nurse was giving him oxygen.

I was taken away from him to the other side of the large hall and I was laid down in bed near a young lady who was from my village, and who had many bullet wounds on her body and who was unconscious. Her name is Yiannoula Liasi and she was later released from the Nicosia Turkish Hospital, on 28th November, 1974, following intense steps taken by the then Acting President of the Republic, Mr. Glafcos Clerides, through Mr. Denktash, the Turkish Cypriot negotiator.

The next day, 18th August, 1974, when I was feeling better, I went to see my child in the place I had left him the day before, but I did not find him there. I thought at once that something wrong had happened to him and I began crying. A Turkish Cypriot policeman there told me that my son was taken to another hospital for treatment.

In three months time, when we were brought to the free areas of Cyprus, I started doing everything possible in order to find my child.

On 20th January, 1975, I was informed by the Turkish authorities, and more specifically by the Turkish Cypriot negotiator, Mr. Denktash, himself, that my child was in Ankara

.../4

for medical treatment and that he was taken there after suffering a relapse in his kidneys and they would bring him back to me as soon as he was cured. However, later on they denied that they had said anything like that. There are many people who can confirm what Mr. Denktash had said about my child. He also said that I could, if I wanted, go to Ankara and see my child.

- Why don't they give me my child back? Why don't they tell me what happened to my boy? So many other people, who were wounded and were in worse physical condition than my child, had been cured and were transferred to the free areas - after the necessary steps were of course taken. Why don't they do the same in the case of my child?

Mothers all over the world, I am sure that you can feel the pain of a mother who lost her child. Fight with me, feel the pain and the hardships of my wounded heart, put youselves in my position for a moment. Protest and help me seek, each one of you in her own way, in the same way that a mother is seeking in agony, for years and years now, her innocent and unprotected lost child, who was one of the victims of the Turkish invasion of 1974.

Help me to find the hospital or the hospitals to which my child was transferred and also the doctors who treated him, because maybe they would know something about him.

May your conscience help you to do that. An unfortunate mother is asking for your assistance."

Myrophora Georghiou,
"Laxia" Refugee Estate,
13, Gravias Str.,
Appartment No. 1,
Nicosia - Cyprus

24 March, 1982

APPENDIX 4

LISTS CONTAINING KNOWN CASES OF DESECRATION AND LOOTING OF GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCHES IN CYPRUS BY THE TURKISH AGGRESSORS, PROVEN BY INDEPENDENT EVIDENCE

ANNEX I. CHURCHES AND CHAPELS CONVERTED INTO FLOCK-SHEDS, AFTER HAVING BEEN LOOTED

1. The chapel in Afendrika, near Rizokarpasso.
2. St. Anne's chapel, between Leonarisso and Koma Tou Yialou.
3. St. Andrew's church at Panagra.
4. St. Mamas' church at New Sparta [former Gaidhouras].

ANNEX II. DEMOLISHED CHURCHES AND CHAPELS, AFTER HAVING BEEN LOOTED

1. St. Mamas' church at Trikomo.
2. St. Barbara's chapel at Trikomo.
3. St. Demetrios' chapel, between Trikomo and Syngrassis.

ANNEX III. CHURCHES AND CHAPELS MALICIOUSLY BURNED BY THE TURKISH INVADERS

1. St. Marina's church near Dherynia.

(In October 1974, Turkish soldiers entered this church and after smashing the incons and pews, set fire to them.)

2. St. George's church in Nicosia.
3. St. Demetrios' church at Kaymakli.
4. The church at Pentayia.

ANNEX IV. CHURCHES AND CHAPELS CONVERTED INTO STOREHOUSES, CINEMAS AND RECREATIONAL CENTERS, AFTER HAVING BEEN LOOTED

1. The Saviour's church at Lefkoniko.
2. St. George's church at Prastio of Famagusta District.

ANNEX V. CHURCHES CONVERTED INTO MOSQUES

1. Archangel Michael's church at Yialoussa.
2. St. Marina's church at Yialoussa.
3. St. Basil's church at Vassili.
4. St. Demetrios' church at Leonarisso.
5. Archangel Michael's church at Koma Tou Yialou.
6. The church at Eptakomi.
7. The church at Tavros.
8. The church at Voukolidha.
9. St. Afxentios' church at Komi Kebir.
10. Archangel Michael's church at Patriki.
11. St. George's church at Trikomo.
12. Chryssospiliotissa church in Famagusta.
13. St. Nicholas' church at Limnia.
14. The church at Styllos (or Stylli).
15. A church at Prastio of Famagusta District.
16. Archangel Michael's church at Lefkoniko.
17. The church at Ayios Amvrosios.
18. The church at Klepini.
19. The church at Bellapais (Belle-Paix).
20. St. Mary of Glykiotissa chapel, West of Kyrenia town.
21. Saint George's church at Ayios Yeoryios of Kyrenia District.

(See confirmation in the Turkish Cypriot newspaper "Kibris Postasi" of 21 December 1982.)

22. The church at Lapithos, at the foothill of the mountain.
23. Church of St. Constantine and St. Helena at Livera.
24. St. Andrew's church at Neapolis, in the occupied part of Nicosia.

(This church was officially converted into a mosque on September 15, 1977.)

25. St. Mary's (Panayia) church at Yerolakkos.
26. Old church of St. Mary (Panayia Chrysseleoussa) at Katokopia.
27. New church of St. Mary (Panayia Chrysseleoussa) at Katokopia.

(This church is being used as a mosque, as well as a Turkish military observatory.)

28. The church at Argaki.
29. St. Paraskevi's church at Morphou.
30. Another church at Morphou.

ANNEX VII CHURCHES AND CHAPELS FORSAKEN BY THE GOVERNMENT OF ANKARA TO TURKISH BANDITS AND VANDALS

1. St. Synessios' church at Rizokarpasso.
2. Cemetery church at Rizokarpasso.
3. St. Andrew's chapel at Rizokarpasso.
4. Holy Trinity chapel at Ayios Philon.
5. St. Mary's (Panayia Eleoussa) chapel, West of Rizokarpasso.
6. The church and chapel of St. Therissos, between Rizokarpasso and Yialoussa.
7. The church at Ayia Trias.
8. The church at Melanarga.
9. The ancient church of St. Photini at Ayios Andronikos village.
10. St. Mary's chapel at Ayios Andronikos village.
11. St. George's church at Vathylakas.

(An eye-witness reported that, on 30th September 1976, the church warden's pew was broken into and whatever money and valuables were in it were stolen. Two large chandeliers, an ancient chalice, a silver communion spoon and three silver oil lamps were also stolen.)

12. St. George's chapel at Vathylakas.

(In a signed statement, an eye-witness reported that, on 24th September 1976, the grave of an old village priest, built in the outer wall of this chapel, was broken open by the Turks looking for valuables. Next day, debris, human bones and worn out clerical robes could be seen by the grave.

The doors of this chapel were broken open and destroyed. The icons were scattered about on the floor. Many of them were in pieces. The chapel warden's pew was also broken open. The cloth covers of the icons were torn to pieces and thrown on the floor and a dog was sleeping on them at the time. The taperstand of the chapel was also broken and thrown on the floor. The pews were inside the church but most of them were completely destroyed.)

13. St. Theodore's chapel at Vathylakas.

(It has been reported that, on 30th September 1976, many icons were on the floor and some others were broken and thrown about in the fields outside. All oil lamps were destroyed and the oil in them was poured on the floor with the result that some icons swam in oil. The chapel warden's pew, the taperstand and the pews were broken into pieces and thrown on the floor. The Episcopal Throne, which apparently was used as a ladder to climb on the iconostasis and destroy the icons and the oil lamps, was also thrown on the floor.)

14. St. Constantine's chapel at Vathylakas.

(On 30th September 1976, all glass receptacles containing oil for the lamps and the lamps themselves were broken and the iconostasis was completely destroyed. Several icons were broken by being thrown down from the iconostasis or by being thrown onto broken glass receptacles. The silver oil lamps and other valuables were missing. Some 25 ancient plates which were plastered onto the dome of the chapel had also been removed. The altar and the various implements on it were destroyed and inside there was human dung.)

15. Byzantine church of Panayia Kanakaria at Lythrangomi in the Karpass Peninsula.

(On May 20, 1982, Mr. Ali Atakan, a Turkish Cypriot who respects his country and its cultural heritage, denounced the disappearance from this ancient church of its famous mosaic depicting Virgin Mary holding infant Jesus and surrounded by other figures and the 12 apostles. Part of this mosaic had already been damaged by previous Turkish looters. The stolen mosaic was one of the few remaining specimens of 6th century Byzantine Art—contemporary of the famous Ravenna mosaics—and unique in the Eastern Mediterranean.)

16. St. George's church at Kilanemos.
17. St. George's chapel near Kilanemos.
18. Church of Archangel Michael and St. Antony at Leonarisso.
19. Cemetery chapel at Leonarisso.
20. The church at Dhavlos.
21. The church at Ardhana.
22. St. Demetrios' chapel at Ardhana.

(In May 1976 an eye-witness reported that this chapel was empty but for the remains of the altar plinth, and that was fouled with human excrement.)

23. The church at Ayios Elias.
24. St. Catherine's chapel at Trikomo.
25. St. James' church at Trikomo.
26. Archangel Michael's church at Trikomo.
27. Parish church of Syngrassis village.

(In an article, published in the London "Times" on 27th May 1976, Mr. John Fielding says: "Here there were open tombs outside, a crucifix inside reeking of urine, with its arms broken. Icons were scattered across the floor.")

28. The church at Ayois Yeoryios of Famagusta District.

(In an article, published in "The Guardian" of London and Manchester on May 6, 1976, Mr. John Fielding says: "The church tower was apparently in process of demolition, with one of its four pillars knocked away. The roof was holed. . . .")

29. The church at Gypsos.
30. The church at Milea (or Milia) of Famagusta District.
31. The church at Piyi.
32. St. Anastasius' church at Peristerona of Famagusta District.

(In connection with the last two churches, Mr. John Fielding wrote: "The church at Piyi was a mass of wrecked furniture, glass, and icons, so was the impressive church at Peristerona, a mile away".)

33. St. George's church at Limnia.

(In an article, published in "The Guardian" on November 30, 1979, Mr. John Torode says: "The exterior walls are covered with illegible graffiti. Inside the destruction is complete. The body of the church is bare of pews or chairs. The altar screen, composed of six-inch timbers, has been wrenched out, the icons have been looted. Among the filth on the floor lies the torn remains of an antique Bible. The medieval murals, depicting St. George slaying the dragon, have been chipped at and scribbled on. The altar which seems to have been made of massive marble blocks from the nearby classical site of Salamis has been smashed. On the remains of the altar are broken-bottles, excrement, and what smells like urine.")

34. St. Sergius' church at Ayios Seryios.
35. The chapel at Ayios Seryios.
36. Church of the Holy Cross in Famagusta.
37. Church of St. John the Theologian in Famagusta.
38. St. George's (Ai Yiorkoui) chapel in Famagusta.
39. The church of Pyrga of Famagusta District.
40. Monastery of St. Spyridon at Tremetousha (or Trimithous).

(The precious collections of this centre of icon and manuscript restoration and conservation cannot be traced.)

41. Church of St. Therapon at Angastina.
42. Saint Mary's church at Palekythro.
43. St. Andronikos' church at Kythrea.
44. St. Mary's (Panayia Theotokos) church at Kythrea.
45. St. Marina's church at Kythrea.

(The frescoes of this old church have been completely removed.)

46. Antiphonitis Monastery.

(This Monastery was visited in Summer 1976 by the "Thames" TV correspondent Mr. John Fielding who reported as follows: "We found perhaps the most upsetting sight at the tiny Antiphonitis Monastery, miles up an unmade track in the fragrant pines of the Pentadaktylos Mountains. Doors were battered in, eleventh and twelfth century treasures looted, fifteenth century frescoes plastered with asbestos cement, the newer icons smashed, fires had been lit, and the floor was strewn with bottles and filth. All this needed a special measure of depraved dedication, for it requires time and effort just to make the climb. Before departing, someone chalked the date—March 6, 1975—on the wrecked iconostasis.")

47. The church of Vouno village.

(See confirmation in the Turkish Cypriot newspaper "Ortam" of 20 January 1983.)

48. St. Mary of Apsidhiotissa chapel, between Vouno and Syghari villages in the District of Kyrenia.

(12th Century frescoes have been destroyed.)

49. The chapel at Bellapais (Belle-Paix).
50. Kyrenia Bishopric.

(Its icon collections, dating from the 14th to the 17th century, and other liturgical items cannot be traced.)

51. Chryssopolitissa church at Kyrenia.
52. Another church at Kyrenia.
53. The church at Karmi.

(For the robbery of its icons, see the Turkish Cypriot press of 11 March 1979.)

54. St. Nicholas church at Elea of Kyrenia District.
55. St. Luke's church at Lapithos (or Lapethos).
56. The church at Kapouti.

(See confirmation in the Turkish Cypriot newspaper "Ortam" of January 20, 1983.)

57. Morphou Bishopric.
58. The church at Xeros.

ANNEX VIII. MONASTERIES AND CHURCHES CONVERTED INTO SO-CALLED "MUSEUMS"

1. St. Barnabas Monastery.

(In A.D. 478 the remains of St. Barnabas—with a copy of St. Matthew's gospel in St. Barnabas' own handwriting—were found near the ancient city of Salamis. At the place where the sepulchre was found, a magnificent church was built, housing the relics of St. Barnabas. In the centuries that followed, this church has undergone repeated modifications and repairs, becoming the well known St. Barnabas' Monastery. Fifteen centuries after the discovery of St. Barnabas' sepulchre, Turkish bandits broke into this historic Monastery and stole invaluable icons and crosses. This robbery has been confirmed by the newspaper of Turkish-occupied Cyprus of May 22-24, 1980.)

2. St. Mamas' Cathedral at Morphou.

(Though it is used as a "Museum", its precious icons and other liturgical items have disappeared.)

CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES IN THE OCCUPIED PART OF CYPRUS

1. There are about 200 churches and 11 monasteries in the occupied area, with invaluable icons, manuscripts, mosaics and consecrated vessels.

A total number of 16,000 icons remained in the occupied areas. They date as far back as the 12th century. A large number of them were sold overseas.

One hundred thirty nine churches (76 in the Archbishopric District, 40 in the Bishopric of Kyrenia, and 23 in the Bishopric of Morphou) were desecrated, closed down and plundered.

Four priests remained in the occupied areas and have to meet the religious needs of the enclaved in the Karpass area.

The churches of Ayios Yeoryios in Nicosia and Ayios Demetrios in Kaimakli were burned by the invaders. Many other churches suffered extended damages.

According to information in the hands of the Cypriot police, rapes were committed in the churches in Neo Chorio, Kythrea and the Church of Sotiros in Akanthou.

2. Five priests were killed in cold blood during the two phases of the Turkish invasion in July-August 1974.

Two hundred priests were forced to leave the occupied areas.

Reverend George Athanasiou from Palekithros was maltreated by the invaders and died later as a result.

All priests, about 20, who were taken prisoners during the invasion were maltreated.

Reverend Ioakim Philippou from Trikomo was slaughtered.

According to information in the hands of the Republic of Cyprus, the following churches have been converted to mosques: The Church of Apostolos Andreas in Neapoli, the Church of Vokolida Village in the Karpass.

In addition, the report of Asme-Humanitas of 19.7.1977, states that following investigation it has been confirmed that a number of places of worship "had been robbed, plundered and a number of graveyards desecrated": the church and chapel in Ayios Therisos; a graveyard and its chapel in Leonarisso; the small chapel in Bellapais; the chapel in Ayios Demetrios; churches in Kyrenia; the church in Ayios Ambrosios was used as a mosque; the church of Ayios Demetrios in the main road Trikomo-Singrasi has been demolished; the church of Archangel Michael in the graveyard of Trikomo was desecrated.

On 22.5.80, the Turkish Cypriot newspaper, "BOZKURT" revealed that a number of icons were stolen from Saint Barnabas Church on 20.5.80. 36 icons were stolen of an estimated total value of (Cyprus Pounds) C£10,975. The paper published a list of the icons.

In the beginning of 1980, the Director of the Department of Antiquities of the Republic of Cyprus was informed by two foreigners, who visited occupied Cyprus, that the well-known early Byzantine wall mosaic of the Church of Panayia Kanakaria in the Karpass Peninsula had been destroyed. (A relevant letter was published in the London Times on 9.8.80).

MENIL FOUNDATION INC 3363 SAN FELIPE HOUSTON TEXAS 77019 (713) 622-5651

His Beatitude Chrysostomos
The Archbishop of Cyprus
Nicosia
Cyprus

June 3 1985

My Dear Archbishop:

May I be bold enough to confide in Your Beatitude a project that has been growing in my heart. It concerns the frescoes of the chapel of St. Themonianos from Lysi.

As you may recall, these frescoes had been ripped from the walls and were in many pieces in the hands of a dealer, when we heard of them and offered the Church of Cyprus to purchase and restore them. You encouraged us to do so by granting permission to exhibit them in Houston for a period of ten years. We went ahead, and the frescoes are now in London being pieced together, with great difficulty, and restored by an able professional team. As this work slowly progresses, an idea - a dream - germinated in my heart.

Would it be conceivable for the Church of Cyprus to own in Texas a small chapel which would be a religious and cultural outpost? The dangerous times we live in, full of threats and upheavals, seem to permit bold thinking. This has encouraged my dreams, which, I feel, could open interesting possibilities for the future.

A replica of the chapel of St. Themonianos would be built in Houston to receive the frescoes which are, and will remain always, the property of the Church of Cyprus. This chapel would be donated to the Church of Cyprus. It would be a unique Cyprian monument in the United States, reminding Americans and the world of the treasures of Cyprus and of the great tragedy which led to some fatal destructions. It would not deprive Cyprus, which has many other chapels with frescoes equally or more beautiful.

If you would consider such a move, I would be happy to fly to Nicosia for further talks and bring to Your Beatitude an invitation to meet the Greek community of Houston, in view of formally announcing plans.

Respectfully yours,

Dominique de Menil

Mrs. J. de Menil
President
MENIL FOUNDATION Inc

APPENDIX 5

THE CYPRUS DISPUTE:

TURKEY, THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE TURKISH REPUBLIC ON CYPRUS

REMARKS

by

Jed Snyder

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Washington, D.C.

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Introduction

Ever since the London and Zurich agreements of 1959 where the Republic of Cyprus was envisioned as a bi-communal Greek-Turkish Cypriot Republic, there has been almost uninterrupted struggle between the Greek desire for "Enosis" (the Greek term for reunification of Cyprus with Greece) and the Turkish government's effort to safeguard the rights of the Turkish-Cypriot minority community on Northern Cyprus.

Archbishop Makarios's 1963 decision to break the bi-communal arrangement betrayed his desire to assure the presidency of a unitary state. He moved to establish a uni-national Greek state based on the uncontested authority of the Greek-Cypriot community, thereby abrogating the equal sovereign status of the Turkish-Cypriot community. In November, 1963 Makarios demanded changes in the Cypriot constitution which would have broken the bi-communal arrangement on the island, in force since August 1960. When the Turkish Cypriots refused to accept the changes, fighting broke out and an eleven-year campaign of terror by the Greek Cypriots commenced. During this period, Greek Cypriots had control of roughly 90% of the island (including the airport and all government buildings). In July 1974 there was a successful attempt by pro-Enosis factions on the island to overthrow Makarios and (with the help of the government in Athens) to install a new government headed by Nicos Sampson. This action provoked an invasion of the northern portion of Cyprus by military

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forces of the Republic of Turkey (the Turkish government refers to the invasion as "the peace operation"). The Makarios attempt to illegally install a Greek-Cypriot regime over the entire island and the subsequent Turkish invasion permanently altered the terms of reference for a solution to the Cyprus dispute, transforming a regional issue into an international crisis.

The latest effort by the government in Ankara to stabilize the situation on Cyprus and to protect the 150,000 Turkish Cypriots living on the northern portion of the island came in November 1983. The leader of the Turkish-Cypriot community and President of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus (TFSC) since its establishment in February 1975, Rauf Denktash, declared that henceforth the northern portion of the island would be known as the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus(TRNC), with its own constitution, parliament and president. This declaration seemed to reject the status quo of a federation on the island. Since 1975, the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus was considered to be a component of the Greek-Turkish federation on Cyprus. Although the Turkish Cypriot leader had threatened to declare a sovereign state in the past, the move was not anticipated at that time. Private discussions, however, held by the author with Turkish officials during a 1983 trip to Turkey, confirms that the Turkish government (particularly the Foreign Ministry) was angered by the timing of Denktash's declaration which came before the December 1983 Turkish general elections. In sum, the government in Ankara -- while supportive of the Denktash regime -- resented being presented with a fait accompli.

The November 1983 Denktash declaration was immediately condemned by the U.S. and by a U.N. Security Council resolution. As of this writing, only Turkey has recognized the new state. As a signatory of the 1960 Treaty of Guaranty which gave Cyprus its independence, Great Britain announced that it would seek a reversal of the decision as part of a larger effort to achieve a settlement of the historical dispute. Questions were raised as to whether Britain had an obligation under the 1960 treaty, to use military force to return the Turkish section of the island to its previous status. Britain maintains a small force of about 4,800 military personnel on the island, about 500 of whom are members of a 2,500 man UN force. They are stationed on two British military bases on the island.

The Greek government quickly condemned the formation of a sovereign Turkish state on Cyprus, declaring that the Turkish government bore full responsibility for the action of the Turkish Cypriot leadership.

The Turkish government has made clear its intention to support the new state including the use, if necessary, of the 15,000 man Turkish garrison on the island. With the December 1983 decision by Denktash to form a National Assembly on Cyprus, the opportunities for a settlement appear to be slim. The decision in April 1984 for Ankara to exchange ambassadors with Cyprus, seemed to harden (for the time being) the November 1983 action.

In January 1985, however, the leaders of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities agreed to meet for the first time in more than five years under the auspices of U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar at the U.N. in New York. Although a draft agreement reportedly received tentative approval by both sides prior to the U.N. talks, the meetings ended in failure over a number of issues including the insistence of Mr. Denktash that Turkey must remain a permanent guarantor of the Turkish Cypriot community's security.

The author's discussions with a number of individuals close to the U.N. talks, however, suggest that in discussions prior to the U.N. meeting, the Greek-Cypriot leader, Spiros Kiprianou, misled the U.N. Secretary General into thinking the draft agreement presented no problems for him. As a result, the

Turkish-Cypriot leader, Rauf Denktash, arrived in New York under the false impression that an agreement was likely. As of this writing, no immediate follow-on talks on Cyprus are planned, although Denktash has stated his desire to continue the inter-communal discussions with the Greek-Cypriot leader Kiprianou, through the auspices of the U.N.

Although this conference was called primarily to discuss the prospects for the new Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, one cannot discuss the Cyprus issue without reference to the complex regional stresses which have contributed to the seriousness of the Cyprus dispute. In an effort to provide historical background for these issues, this paper will briefly explore (1) the connection between Turkey's historical dilemma in the Middle East and the degree to which Ankara might influence the Denktash government on Cyprus, and (2) the dangers of tilting toward a policy which is often described as "non-aligned."

Turkey's Relations with the Middle East

Turkey's determined efforts to be accepted by the states of the Arab Middle East since the 1960's reflect Ankara's historical dilemma of socio-political-religious identification. On the one hand, Turkey has labored to be accepted as a Western state, whose security concerns are embodied in NATO membership. On the other hand, her Islamic ties to the Arab world prescribed a policy which at least questioned the utility of a strong Western allegiance.

Geography has dictated a special role for Turkey which has both strategic advantages and socio-religious disadvantages. Her vital role as NATO's southeastern anchor tends to exacerbate the difficulty in becoming accepted in the Arab world where suspicion of Western "hegemony" could be fueled by the image of a Turkish Trojan Horse in the Middle East.

Turkey's occasional attacks on Islam and Kemal Ataturk's drive to westernize Turkey only fueled the Arab world's concern that while Ankara strove for acceptance by the fraternity of Arab states, she was ultimately a Western nation, whose leaders would find her security tied to the United States and NATO, not to the Arab or Islamic world.

The post-war period saw the gap between Arabs and Turks widen, as Turkey was preoccupied by the Soviet threat and the Truman Doctrine, while Arab nationalism and an often anti-Western attitude - epitomized by Gamel Nasser in Egypt - ran in an almost opposite direction.

The national preoccupations and central concerns of Arab states vs those of Turkey were far apart in the 1950's and 1960's and specific issues increased the divergence. For the Arab states, the nearly constant conflict - armed and otherwise - with Israel assumed paramount importance while Turkey was consumed with stabilizing her position in the West. Policy toward Israel, however, became a perennial sticking point with Arab states, reminding Turkish leaders that while Ankara had originally opposed the partition of Palestine, she was the first Muslim country to recognize the new state of Israel in 1949. In that regard, the more recent downgrading of Israeli-Turkish foreign relations to an almost non-existent level is an unfortunate development and ultimately may cost Turkey the support of a potentially vital ally both in terms of economic and political-military relations. The deterioration of this relationship is yet another example of Ankara's tightrope-like Middle Eastern policy.

Soon after Turkey's recognition of Israel, Ankara reinforced Arab suspicions of Turkey's "real" agenda in the Middle East, by joining the

Baghdad Pact. The Pact was a mutual assistance agreement signed in 1955 between Great Britain, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan and Turkey, designed to protect the security interests of regional states against the designs of the Soviet Union. Although it was not an "anti-Arab" agreement, it was clearly designed to meet any possible Soviet-Arab alliance in the region. Ankara's signature on the Pact increased the distance between Turkey and two (then) radical Arab states - Syria and Egypt.

Turkey's isolation in the Middle East increased dramatically in 1974 with the Turkish invasion of Northern Cyprus, where with the exception of Saudi Arabia, the Arab world condemned the action.

Turkish public opinion began to decry this policy of political and economic isolation from the Arab world in the mid to late 1960's and the Turkish government, led by forces not always in support of the United States, began to distance itself from Washington. Turkey's new policy of cautious criticism of the U.S. began in 1967 with the Turkish decision to publicly announce that U.S. bases on Turkish soil may not be used to support a U.S. role in any conflict involving Middle Eastern countries. This was, in part, a delayed response to the insensitive and myopic US decision to use Incirlik airbase in 1958 to support U.S. intervention in the Lebanon crisis without Washington's receiving prior permission from the Ankara government.

Turkey's stand in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war was decidedly pro-Arab, as were a number of subsequent Turkish statements and votes in the UN General Assembly including the call for Israel to recognize the rights of the Palestinians, for Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories (which by this definition included Jerusalem) and finally in 1975, the establishment of bilateral relations with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). This was sealed in 1975 with a Turkish invitation for the PLO to open an office in Ankara.

This decision was, I believe, a seriously misguided recognition of the "rights" of a terrorist organization, rather than a recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people. It is all the more objectionable when one recalls the tragic recent history of Turkey's vulnerability to political terror, from both the left and the right. Ankara's refusal to distinguish between support for the Palestinian cause, from terrorists who claim to represent the Palestinian people (who surely do deserve the attention and support of all who care about political freedom) was futher confirmed by Turkey's decision in 1979 to formally recognize the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Although Turkey has publicly insisted that she has made clear to the PLO leadership, her condemnation of and concern for any Palestinian involvement in terrorist campaigns within Turkey, and although Ankara has refused to accept PLO calls for Turkey to completely sever her relations with Israel, the policy is far from balanced. Turkey's recognition of the PLO is mystifying considering the documented role which the PLO has played in supporting the Armenian terror campaign. Further, the increasingly anti-Israeli policy in Ankara ignores the possibility that Israel might (in the future) be persuaded to support the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. The Denktash government's policy is built essentially on the insistence that the rights of the Turkish community on Cyprus be respected. There are few governments in the world whose historical experience is as sensitive to that concern as Israel.

Islam, OPEC and the Superpowers

Turkey's struggle to find a balance between official secularism and allegiance to the growing Islamic movement found expression in Turkey's participation in the first Islamic conference in Rabat in 1969 and the subsequent meetings as well. Although Turkey was a full participant in these conferences, she assumed a low profile, particularly during discussions of the Arab-Israeli dispute. Clearly Ankara was uncomfortable in her role as a bridge between the Islamic and Western worlds.

The OPEC oil embargo of 1973-74 shifted Turkey's foreign policy emphasis from a cautious socio-religious perspective to one of economic necessity. Turkey's dependence on OPEC crude oil to fuel her industries and heat her homes, demanded a closer relationship with key Persian Gulf and Middle East oil exporters - Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Libya. At the same time, Turkey hoped both to increase her trade with the Middle Eastern countries and to attract petro-dollars into the then seriously ailing Turkish economy.

Three Arab states have particularly close relations with Turkey - Libya, Saudi Arabia and Iraq. The much publicized gift from Libya of five F-5 combat aircraft to Turkey during the 1974 Cyprus crisis was a tangible symbol of Qaddafi's attempt to move closer to Turkey. In that regard, Qaddafi's recent conclusion of a treaty of union with Morocco's King Hassan, should be greeted with considerable alarm. This Treaty of Arab-African Union which threatens the balance of power in the Mediterranean is Qaddafi's seventh attempt to create a bilateral alliance with a Middle Eastern state. The agreement, which establishes a joint presidency, a rotating secretariat, and economic, political, cultural and defense councils, also threatens the close relationship which President Reagan has sought to create with Morocco.

Although Turkey's friendly policy toward Libya is rooted primarily in Ankara's concern for secure oil supplies, there are other dimensions to the relationship. There is, for example, a strong and enduring guest worker arrangement between Libya and Turkey, with Turkey sending roughly 10% of its workers in the Middle East to Libya.

As Libya has sought a closer relationship with Turkey, so has Iraq. Saddam Hussein's support for an oil pipeline from Mosul to Iskenderun, completed in 1977, proved vital to Turkey during the second oil shock of 1979. The issue of Kurdish separatism and Turkish sanctuary may cause difficulty between the two states, however.

With the revolution in Iran, the issue of Islamic solidarity has become more prominent in Turkey, where conservative religious groups favor a closer relationship between Ankara and the less radical Arab states - Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Egypt.

Finally, the generally held Arab view that external powers - particularly the U.S. and Soviet Union - are responsible for regional upheaval, has tended to reinforce leftward views within Turkey, which urge a closer relationship with the Arab states.

Turkish Cyprus: The Problem of Recognition

It is important to understand the history of Ankara's relations with her Arab neighbors, principally because it helps explain the cultural-political dilemma unique to the Turkish experience. It is clear that the new Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus will be heavily influenced by Ankara's policies and for that reason alone, the Denktash government should be sensitive to key Turkish-Middle Eastern relationships. This is the first policy dilemma for Denktash. Should he strive to create a republic whose policies are truly independent of all outside influence, or should he allow his decisions to be affected by those few allies upon whom he can rely? On balance, the latter choice is the wise one.

At this point, Turkey is the TRNC's only ally. Turkey is the only country which has formally recognized the new Republic's existence and its garrison force (two divisions totaling roughly 15,000 troops) guarantees (along with about 10,000 Turkish Cypriot soldiers) the security of the northern portion of the island. But even that relationship must be treated carefully, as Ankara was shocked and angered at the timing of President Denktash's declaration, coming just after the Turkish national elections but before the new government was formed. As noted earlier, Denktash had presented the new administration of Turkish Prime Minister Ozal with a fait accompli. He realized that Ozal could not afford to hesitate in his support for the TRNC, considering the large Turkish economic and military commitment to the Turkish Cypriot community. There is certainly, however, a belief in Ankara that in return for unqualified support, the new administration in Northern Cyprus will be expected to accept a certain amount of policy guidance from the Ozal government. In my view, Denktash can only benefit from such a relationship, although he must be cautious to avoid being viewed as wholly subservient to Ankara.

I believe the key to an international role for the Turkish Republic will be recognition of its government by both regional and outside powers. Here I disagree very strongly with the position of my own government. While the U.S. condemnation of the establishment of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus was politically understandable, it was also very mistaken; Washington's rush to condemn the action was precipitous. If the U.S. is truly interested in following a policy of adherence to human rights (and I believe it is), then it will recognize the struggle of the Turkish Cypriots for what it is, a legitimate effort to safeguard internationally recognized liberties.

In reaching a decision on recognition many governments will be looking to the U.S. to see whether its position softens in Ronald Reagan's second term. Hopefully the U.S. will urge Western-aligned states to recognize the TRNC. I believe, for example, that Washington should urge Pakistan to formally recognize the Republic, rather than pressuring it not to, which it has been doing, very effectively, and I think wrongly. It is particularly important for a prominent Islamic state to recognize the TRNC early, as a number of other Islamic states will take such a signal as a guide to their own policy. Pakistani recognition could lead, I believe, to early consideration of recognition by Saudi Arabia and by Kuwait as well as other Gulf Sheikhdoms. There will be a political risk for some, as several of these states have closer relationships with Greece than they do with Turkey. Here I would stress it is critical for the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus to align itself early with the more moderate or conservative states in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf. Close policies with radical states should be avoided. I am referring primarily to Syria whose government is in large part responsible for destroying the social and political fabric of Lebanon, and whose leader invites a large Soviet presence which will be difficult to remove. In addition, the Denktash government should be wary of Libya, whose leader Col. Qaddafi is, by any reasonable assessment, unbalanced. I acknowledge Libya's critical role as a petroleum supplier to the TRNC's benefactor, Turkey, but the potentially vital strategic location of Cyprus dictates that the Denktash administration proceed cautiously in dealing with Qaddafi.

Abandoning "Non-Alignment"

The second issue will be whether to assume a stance which could be described as pro-Western or non-aligned. To a certain extent, the second policy issue will be determined by the first. A close relationship with Turkey will suggest to all that there will be at least a veneer of pro-Western sympathy in the Denktash government. Turkey's role in NATO and in the Council of Europe can only benefit the TRNC. For this reason, suggestions that the TRNC ought to adopt a non-aligned stance are most troubling. First, the non-aligned movement has generally been characterized by political forces which in reality reject any independent stance, but which have also been overtly aligned with the East. The recent leaders of the so-called non-aligned movement -- Cuba's Castro and India's Ghandhi - have pursued policies of alliance with the Soviet Union, either explicitly (as is the case with Cuba) or indirectly (as with the late Mrs. Ghandhi). As a result, the non-aligned movement has been colored more by the Marxist view of economic development and political dialogue, than by any independent perspective. Non-alignment for the TRNC should be rejected because if embraced, it will greatly reduce the attractiveness of recognition for the Western states, which in the long-run will be key to the TRNC's political survival.

To this end, the Denktash government ought to adopt as its first priority the recognition by those states whose own perspective can be described as pro-Western. I would urge this primarily for one reason - the necessity to distinguish the policies of the TRNC from those policies which might be adopted by the Greek Cypriots and by Greece itself.

Despite Greek membership in NATO, the policies of Mr. Papandreou can only be described as pro-Soviet. His support for the repressive Jaruzelski regime in Poland, his justification for the 1983 Soviet shootdown of a South Korean civilian airliner, his sponsorship of a Balkan nuclear-free zone and the recent announcement of a new Greek defense concept, repositioning Greek troops from the Bulgarian border to the Turkish border, all support this thesis. It is likely that such policies will also be adopted by Mr. Kiprianou's government as well. If Rauf Denktash wishes to project an image which is distinctly different from that which the Greek-Cypriot community supports, a pro-Western stance is the most desirable, both from a political and economic standpoint.

Although recognition by a major Western state would be a significant boost for the TRNC, it is unlikely without U.S. recognition first. Since early recognition by the U.S. is doubtful, the TRNC should begin to concentrate on those states in the region who are most closely aligned with the United States. Pakistan and Saudi Arabia are obvious candidates. Recognition by these states would provide support from both the Islamic and the Arab communities and would probably reduce the pressure on other states by Greece, not to recognize the Denktash regime. Should these two states move to recognize the TRNC, Egypt and Kuwait would find it easier to be supportive.

For reasons emphasized earlier, recognition by radical states -- Syria, Libya, Iran -- should not be pursued. In the case of Syria, the danger is greater than with Iran or Libya. Syria's increasingly close alliance with the Soviet Union (which now includes an unprecedentedly large military component) and President Assad's continuing refusal to seek a settlement of the Lebanese tragedy, suggests that the TRNC avoid any relationship with that regime.

In sum, the future of the TRNC will rest on its ability to project a pro-Western image which is balanced by a sensitivity toward historic Arab suspicions of Western colonialism. The Denktash government would be wise to learn from Turkey's experience in the region and at the same time adopt policies which align itself with its only real protector, the West.

Creating a New Forum for Negotiations on Cyprus: A Proposal

Although I believe (as stated earlier) that the future of Cyprus lies in the establishment of two sovereign states on the island, the negotiation route should not be abandoned. The talks should, however, be restructured to create a multinational forum, where the interests of both sides may be argued by those nations who have a strategic interest in the resolution of the dispute.

The Cyprus issue will not be resolved if the parties to the negotiation are limited to Greek and Turkish Cypriots and a United Nations representative. New arbiters must be found or there is little chance of a resolution, in which case the future of the island will most probably lie in two separate and sovereign states on Cyprus. Although the United Nations Secretary-General has made some progress, he lacks the institutional leverage to proceed much farther.

I would recommend that the British and American governments take the leading roles in bringing the parties together. The British are co-guarantors under the Cyprus accords and the presence of two British bases on the island increases Britain's interest in the resolution of the conflict. In addition, among the allies the British maintain fairly cordial relations with the government in Athens and therefore are politically well-suited to act as a broker for Greek-Cypriot interests. The United States could effectively act as an interlocutor for Turkish-Cypriot interests, reinforced by its close relations with the government of Ankara.

Under this proposal, Britain and the United States would participate directly as advisers to the two parties, acting as arbitrators with the requirement that final decisions be approved by the Greek and Turkish Cypriot leaders. Recent press stories reporting that Messrs. Denktash and Kiprianou have discussed the necessity for U.S. involvement in the Cyprus talks, suggest this proposal may be acceptable to all parties. The addition of Britain as the second arbitrator would remove potential Greek objections to U.S. involvement.

Representatives of the Greek and Turkish governments would not play a direct role in these talks, as their presence "at the table" would focus attention on Greek-Turkish hostililty rather than on the issue of the future of Cyprus. I realize, however, that the Greek and Turkish Cypriots would consult privately with Athens and Ankara who act as de facto protectors of the two Cypriot communities.

This proposal would force Washington to take a more direct role in the resolution of the Cyprus issue. Quite apart from the political imperatives that demand a US role in these talks, there is a more pressing strategic reason for US involvement - the possible loss of the Souda Bay anchorage for the US Sixth Fleet should Papandreou implement his threat to close all US bases on Greek soil when the current bilateral agreement expires in 1988. This would force the Sixth Fleet to seek a new primary base. Cyprus would provide an excellent base, in the strategically vital eastern Mediterranean. However, establishing a NATO base on Cyprus under the current political conditions there would be impossible. Although it is doubtful whether NATO would be comfortable moving the Sixth Fleet's major base to Cyprus, there may be no alternative. Thus, the prospect of the construction of a major US naval base on Cyprus (and the significant economic benefits to the local economy which would result) could provide an inducement for the two communities on the island to accelerate the progress of a settlement, without which NATO would be unable to consider such an initiative.

APPENDIX 6

Senator, you have asked me to testify about "human rights" in Cyprus. The term "human rights" usually denotes some understood entitlement of the citizen, just as the commonly employed word "violation" has come to be understood as an intelligible negation of the said and understood "rights". When we read or learn of a person who has been tortured, detained without trial, deported or prevented from departing, subjected to unwarranted search or seizure, forcibly forbidden to exercise his or her religious or political opinions, exposed to unlawful kidnap, rape or dispossession, we are all in a sense "programmed" to interpret this as a "violation of human rights". There is, one sometimes feels, no nation or people or community which cannot make a claim of this kind against a government, a rival government, or an antagonistic state.

The case of Cyprus, however, seems to me to be different in kind and quality from many other examples. As you may readily apprehend from a reading of the report of the European Commission on Human Rights, which brought a full magisterial weight to bear on the question, Cypriots have been subject, to every known variety of "violation". There are sufficient instances of murder, theft, torture, rape and kidnap in that report to occupy students of the Geneva conventions from now until the end of the century. Striking to any fair-minded reader is the weight as well as the profusion of the evidence. There are, for example, excellent photographs of Cypriot prisoners in the hands of the Turkish army—prisoners whose very existence is now denied by the Turkish occupation authorities.

I mention these examples not merely to restate the obvious, or to summarize the findings of an exhaustive and authoritative report. I mention them because it seems to me, as a long-time student of the question, that the word "violation" is a wholly inadequate one to describe the human rights situation in Cyprus. In essence, the rights of the Greek Cypriot inhabitants have been not so much violated by the invader as abolished.

I am referring here to the forcible expulsion of some 200,000 civilians from their homes—perhaps half of these deported after the cessation of hostilities. Concomitant with this illegal expulsion, which was attended with extreme brutality and arbitrariness, has come the erasure of the culture, civilization, language, religion and custom upon which the victims had depended for thousands of years past. The atrocity, I mean to say, was not one of horror and violence committed in the heat of warfare (though it bore all of those symptoms too, and more besides). It was and is a calculated assault on the right of Cypriots *to exist*. This could be described without exaggeration as the most fundamental of all human rights, and its violation could be summarized as the most flagrant and savage form of denial.

Previous conquerors in Cyprus, Senator, including the Ottoman Turks, has been content to govern the islanders, to exploit them for taxes and revenues, and to treat their country as a strategic chattel. These practices cannot be admired but they can at least, in the context of medieval imperialism and 19th century colonialism, be understood. The Cypriot people had their "human rights" violated by the British occupation for example, which employed all manner of repressive measures in order to retain the island as a base, and which contrived to make Cyprus the last European territory to achieve independence, nationhood and self-determination in 1960. Even at their most unenlightened moments, however, the British colonial authorities respected the right of Cypriots to speak their respective tongues, follow their religions, pursue their private lives and so forth.

The current Turkish invasion and annexation of the northern third of the Republic is entirely different in kind and degree from all its predecessors. No Greek-speaking Cypriot is allowed even to visit the occupied area. With the exception of an ageing and pitiful handful, numbering at most 1,500, all people of the Greek heritage have been crudely expelled from their ancestral towns and villages. The treasury of artifacts and buildings, much remarked by scholars and researchers since well before 1974, has been utterly desecrated and defiled (as many Turkish experts have confirmed, and as UNESCO has exhaustively documented). The attempt to eradicate all previous traces of the rightful inhabitants—by the clumsy alteration of place-names, the hasty changing of street signs, the conversion of churches into mosques, the importation of foreign colonists from Anatolia, the stationing in permanence of foreign troops and bureaucrats—makes it plain that Turkey is attempting to remake Cyprus, by force, in its own image. The terror and violence that were employed in the initial stages of this plan strike me, therefore, as in a terrible sense incidental, or secondary, it is the very right of Cypriots to be Cypriot that is under attack.

I should like to be able to state that it went without saying that all the successive Turkish consolidations of the illegal status quo are in violation of international law and in open defiance of the United Nations. Unfortunately, the obvious needs restatement—especially at a time when the United States and Great Britain have chosen to "live with" the dismemberment of Cyprus and to reward the aggressor with vastly promiscuous quantities of economic and military aid. The consequences of this myopic and cynical policy will be felt by voters in this country one day, just as they are being felt now by a new generation of Cypriots, whose country has never contemplated or committed aggression against anyone.

I am, naturally, prepared to defend and to document all the assertions and hypotheses that I have advanced above. I am at your disposal, Senator, or that of any of your colleagues or any witnesses who may wish to challenge what I have said or to request amplification of it.

Christopher Hitchens, July 20, 1985.

APPENDIX 7

COUNCIL OF EUROPE

CONSEIL DE L'EUROPE

EUROPEAN COMMISSION
OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Application No. 8007/77

CYPRUS
against
TURKEY

Report of the Commission

(Adopted on 4 October 1983)

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

1. This Report deals with the third application (N° 8007/77) by Cyprus against Turkey.

2. The basic events which gave rise to the present situation in Cyprus, to which this Report relates, are set out at Part I, Chapter 1, of the Commission's Report of 10 July 1976 concerning the two previous applications (N°s 6780/74 and 6950/75) by Cyprus against Turkey.

3. The Commission recalls that, in their first application (N° 6780/74), the applicant Government stated that Turkey had on 20 July 1974 invaded Cyprus, until 30 July occupied a sizeable area in the north of the island and on 14 August 1974 extended its occupation to about 40% of the territory of the Republic. The applicant Government alleged violations of Arts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 13 and 17 of the Convention and Art 1 of Protocol N° 1 and of Art 14 of the Convention in conjunction with the aforementioned Articles. In their second application (N° 6950/75) the applicant Government contended that, by acts unconnected with any military operation, Turkey had, since the introduction of the first application, committed, and continued to commit, further violations of the above Articles in the occupied territory.

4. In its Report of 10 July 1976 concerning Applications N°s 6780/74 and 6950/75 the Commission concluded in particular (at pages 165 to 167) that Turkey had violated Arts 2, 3, 5, 8, 13 and 14 of the Convention and Art 1 of Protocol N° 1.

5. The Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, on 20 January 1979, adopted Resolution DH (79) 1 concerning the above-mentioned two previous applications.

6. The following is an outline of the third application, as submitted by the Republic of Cyprus to the European Commission of Human Rights under Art 24 of the European Convention on Human Rights, and of the procedure before the Commission concerning this application. In the course of the procedure the Commission has transmitted an Interim Report to the Committee of Ministers on 3 September 1980.

B. The substance of the present application

7. The applicant Government contend that, since 18 May 1976 when the Commission terminated its investigation in the first two applications (N°s 6780/74 and 6950/75) by Cyprus against Turkey, Turkey continues to commit breaches of Arts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8; 13 and 17 of the Convention and of Arts 1 and 2 of Protocol N° 1 and Art 14 of the Convention in conjunction with the aforementioned Articles.

8. The applicant Government state that Turkey "continues to occupy 40% of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus seized in consequence of the invasion of Cyprus by Turkish troops on 20 July 1974".

9. The violations complained of in the application are described as:

- detention or murder of about 2,000 missing Greek Cypriots;
- displacement of persons from their homes and land (refusal to allow the return of over 170,000 refugees and eviction of Greek Cypriots from the occupied areas through inhuman methods);
- separation of families;
- looting and robbery of movables belonging to Greek Cypriots;
- seizure, appropriation, exploitation, occupation, distribution and destruction of movable and immovable properties of Greek Cypriots.

10. Details of these complaints are reproduced in the Commission's decision on the admissibility of the application, which is annexed to this Report.

11. The applicant Government also complain of the "oppression of Turkish Cypriots in the occupied areas" (1).

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(1) For details see the "Particulars of the Application" (reproduced below at pp 85 - 97).

C. Proceedings before the Commission

12. The Agents of the Parties in the proceedings before the Commission were:

- Mr Loukis G. Loucaides, Deputy Attorney-General, for the applicant Government, and

- Professor Dr Ilhan Unat for the respondent Government.

1) Admissibility

13. The application was introduced on 6 September 1977. Particulars of the application were filed on 4 November 1977.

14. The respondent Government, in their observations of 11 January 1978 on the admissibility of the application, requested the Commission to declare the application inadmissible on the following grounds (1):

- that the applicants were not entitled to represent the State of Cyprus and accordingly had no standing before the Commission as applicants under Art 24 of the Convention;

- that Turkey had no jurisdiction over the territory of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus - the area where the alleged acts were claimed to have been committed;

- that domestic remedies had not been exhausted, as required by Art 26 of the Convention, and that the time-limit of six months, laid down in Art 26, for bringing a case before the Commission had not been observed;

- that the application was substantially the same as the two previous applications (N°s 6780/74 and 6950/75 - cf para 2 above); and

- that the application was abusive.

15. At the oral hearing before the Commission on 5 and 6 July 1978, the respondent Government also maintained that the Commission was precluded from dealing with the present application by the decision of the Committee of Ministers of 21 October 1977 concerning the two previous applications (2).

16. The applicant Government contested all these grounds (3).

17. In its decision of 10 July 1978 on the admissibility of the application (annexed to this Report), the Commission found (4) :

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(1) For details see below pp 97 - 112.
(2) Cf below pp 137 - 144.
(3) See below pp 112 - 137 and 144 - 146.
(4) See below pp 147 - 159.

- that the application had been validly introduced on behalf of the Republic of Cyprus;

- that Turkey's jurisdiction in the north of the Republic of Cyprus, existing by reason of the presence of her armed forces there, which prevents exercise of jurisdiction by the applicant Government, could not be excluded on the ground that jurisdiction in that area was allegedly exercised by the "Turkish Federated State of Cyprus";

- that the application could not be rejected for non-exhaustion of domestic remedies or for non-observance of the six months rule;

- that the application could not be declared inadmissible as being the same as the previous Applications N°s 6780/74 and 6950/75;

- that the Commission was not precluded from dealing with the present application by the Committee of Ministers' decision of 21 October 1977 concerning the two previous applications; and

- that the Commission could not accept the objection that the application was abusive.

2) Merits (1)

(a) 1978 - 1979

18. The applicant Government's observations on the merits of the application were filed under cover of the Government's letter of 17 January 1979.

19. The respondent Government, in their letter of 9 May 1979, stated (2):

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(1) A fuller account of the Parties' procedural submissions in 1979 and 1980 is given in the "Interim Report of the Commission on the Present State of the Proceedings" of 12 July 1980.

(2) Original French. English translation by the Council of Europe.

> "There has been no change in the Turkish Government's view that the application in question was not lodged by a competent authority of the Republic of Cyprus. The Turkish Government therefore continue to consider that the Greek-Cypriot Administration does not have the quality of an applicant and that at all events its purported capacity to represent the State of Cyprus is not binding on Turkey.
>
> For these reasons my Government much regret that they are unable to take part in the proceedings on the merits of the application in question.
>
> ...."

In the same communication the respondent Government submitted that the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, in Resolution DH (79) 1 concerning Applications N°s 6780/74 and 6950/75, had "agreed that this Resolution should be considered as a decision putting an end to the examination of the case of Cyprus v Turkey."

20. The applicant Government, in a communication of 2 August 1979, stated the expectation "that the Commission will adopt the normal procedure for the examination of the merits of the above application as in the case of Applications N°s 6780/74 and 6950/75."

21. The Commission decided on 5 October 1979 that the Committee of Ministers' Resolution DH (79) 1 concerning Applications N°s 6870/74 and 6950/75 does not in any way prevent it from continuing its examination of the present application. It further recalled that, by its decision of 10 July 1978, the present application was declared admissible; that such a decision is conclusive for the Parties; and that, in the Convention, the High Contracting Parties have accepted obligations under Art 28 (a) in relation to proceedings before the Commission.

The Commission called on the Parties accordingly to assist it in the performance of its task under the Convention and to submit such suggestions as they wished to make concerning its further examination of this case. In this connection, the Parties should indicate "whether they accept that their memoranda, submitted to the Committee of Ministers in the previous applications, may be considered, in so far as they are relevant, as forming part of the present case and, further, whether they consider that any of the particulars of the present application requires a Commission visit to Cyprus."

22. The applicant Government, in their communication of 21 November 1979, referred to the suggestions made in paras 88 - 90 of their observations on the merits, requesting the Commission, in an investigation, to hear witnesses, inspect localities in Cyprus and Turkey, and to take other relevant evidence.

The applicant Government added that, during the investigation, they "may ask the Commission to take into consideration in relation to some matters in issue (eg the responsibility of the respondent Government for certain continuing violations) the 'Memorial' presented by the respondent Government before the Committee of Ministers in respect of Applications N°s 6780/74 and 6950/75." However, in a further communication of 28 December 1979 the applicant Government argued that the above document "submitted to the Committee of Ministers in the previous applications cannot, under the terms of the Convention, become the subject of consideration by the Commission in the present proceedings".

The Commission, noting that the said Memorial, submitted to the Committee of Ministers, had not been communicated to it, did not, in the absence of any indication by the respondent Government that they wished to rely on this document in the present proceedings, find it appropriate to take it into consideration.

23.. The respondent Government, in a letter of 24 December 1979 (1), reiterated their view "that Application N° 8007/77 was not lodged with the Commission by a competent authority of the Republic of Cyprus; that, in other words, the Greek Cypriot Administration does not have the quality of an applicant and that its purported capacity alone to represent the State of Cyprus is at all events not effective as against Turkey, given that no jurisdiction can be competent to oblige the Turkish Government to recognise against their will the legitimacy of a 'Government' which has usurped the State powers in violation of the Constitution of which Turkey is a guarantor. For these reasons (the) Government much regret that they are unable to take part in the proceedings on the merits before the Commission."

24. The applicant Government, in a communication of 12 February 1980, submitted "that the stand taken by the respondent Government does not offer any ground for not proceeding with the examination of the merits of the case."

The applicant Government's "Supplementary material regarding facts set out in the Particulars and the Observations on the merits of the application" arrived on 5 May 1980.

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(1) Original French. English translation by the Council of Europe.

(b) Interim Report and Decision of the Committee of Ministers

25. On 13 May 1980 the Commission decided to inform the Parties that it considered sending an interim report to the Committee of Ministers containing an account of the state of proceedings, an expression of the opinion of the Commission that Turkey has failed to respect its obligations under Art 28, and a request that the Committee of Ministers urge Turkey to meet those obligations.

The Parties were invited to submit their observations on this course of action.

26. The applicant Government submitted observations in their communication of 25 June 1980.

27. The respondent Government, in a letter of 25 June 1980, stated that their "views on the Application N° 8007/77 are already set out in (the) letter of 24 December 1979."

28. The "Interim Report of the Commission on the Present State of the Proceedings" was adopted on 12 July 1980 by seventeen votes against one.

In the Report the Commission expressed the opinion "that, by its refusal to participate in the Commission's examination of the merits of the present application, Turkey has so far failed to respect its obligations under Art 28 of the Convention" (1).

The Commission requested the Committee of Ministers "to urge Turkey, as a High Contracting Party to the European Convention on Human Rights, to meet its obligations under this Convention and accordingly to participate in the Commission's examination of the merits of the present application, as required by Art 28" (2).

The Interim Report was transmitted to the Committee of Ministers on 3 September 1980.

29. By letter of 4 December 1980 the Chairman of the Committee of Ministers informed the President of the Commission of the Decision adopted by the Committee during the 326th meeting of the Ministers' Deputies (24 November to 4 December 1980). In that decision the Committee, having taken cognizance of the Commission's Interim Report, "Recalls the obligations imposed on all the Contracting Parties by Article 28 of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms."

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(1) Para 45 of the Interim Report.

(2) Para 48 of the Interim Report.

(c) 1980 - 1983

30. On 12 December 1980 the Commission, basing itself on the above decision of the Committee of Ministers, decided that the respondent Government should again be invited to submit their observations on the merits of the application. A new time-limit, expiring on 2 March 1981, was fixed for that purpose.

31. The respondent Government replied on 27 February 1981 that, for the reasons given in previous letters, they continued "to find it impossible to participate in the proceedure as to the merits before the Commission". (1)

32. The Commission, pursuing its examination of the case notwithstanding the respondent Government's refusal to participate, decided on 16 March 1981 to bring its above correspondence with the respondent Government to the attention of the Committee of Ministers and to inform the Committee that it would continue its proceedings.

The Commission further decided that the applicant Government should be invited to submit:

- certain particulars of their complaint concerning missing persons (2), and
- observations on the question in what way the Government have a valid legal interest in a determination of their remaining complaints in the present application in view of the fact that these complaints relate substantially to a situation in Cyprus which has already been the subject of the Commission's Report in two previous applications.

33. The applicant Government's particulars and observations arrived on 28 July 1981. Further particulars and observations were filed under cover of the Government's letters of 22 January and 8 February, and on 5 March 1982, respectively.

34. On 8 March 1982 the Commission decided that an investigation should be undertaken, into the complaint concerning missing persons, by obtaining oral evidence in some of the cases submitted by the applicant Government.

It also decided that the respondent Government should be invited to submit such observations as they might wish to make in reply to the applicant Government's above submissions.

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(1) Original French. English translation by the Council of Europe.

(2) A more detailed account of the proceedings relating to this complaint is given below (paras 87 - 95).

35. The respondent Government replied on 22 April 1982 (1) that they continued "to find it impossible to participate in the procedure as to the merits before the Commission." They did not therefore propose "to submit any observations in reply to those of the applicant."

36. The applicant Government's further submissions of 17 September, concerning measures taken in respect of possessions of Greek Cypriots in the North of Cyprus, arrived on 20 September 1982.

37. On the same day four delegated members of the Commission heard 13 witnesses in five cases of missing persons. The hearing was held in Strasbourg, in the absence of the parties.

38. On 6 October 1982 the Commission decided that the Parties should be invited:

- to submit comprehensive memoranda setting out their final conclusions, and
- to state their oral conclusions at a hearing before the Commission.

39. The respondent Government, in a letter of 28 January 1983, stated that they still found it impossible to participate in the procedure as to the merits before the Commission; it was excluded that they would file observations or be represented at the hearing;

40. The applicant Government's final written submissions arrived on 14 February 1983.

41. At the hearing on 7 March 1983 the applicant Government stated their oral conclusions on the merits of the application. The respondent Government were not represented.

42. Following its decision on the admissibility the Commission, acting in accordance with Art 28 (b) of the Convention, placed itself at the Parties' disposal with a view to securing a friendly settlement of the matter. In view, however, of the respondent Government's refusal to participate in the proceedings under Art 28 the Commission finds no basis on which it could usefully pursue its efforts to reach such a settlement.

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(1) Original French. English translation by the Council of Europe.

D. The present Report

43. The present Report has been drawn up by the Commission in pursuance of Art 31 of the Convention and after deliberations and votes in plenary session, the following members being present:

MM. C.A. Nørgaard, President
G. Sperduti
J.A. Frowein
F. Ermacora
J.E.S. Fawcett
M.A. Triantafyllides
E. Busuttil
L. Kellberg
B. Daver
G. Jörundsson
G. Tenekides
S. Trechsel
B. Kiernan
J. Sampaio
A. Weitzel
J.C. Soyer
H.G. Schermers

44. The text of the Report was adopted by the Commission on 4 October 1983 and is now transmitted to the Committee of Ministers in accordance with Art 31 (2) of the Convention.

45. A friendly settlement of the case not having been reached, the purpose of the present Report, pursuant to Art 31 of the Convention, is accordingly:

(1) to establish the facts; and

(2) to state an opinion as to whether the facts found disclose a breach by the respondent Government of its obligations under the Convention.

46. A schedule setting out the history of proceedings before the Commission is attached hereto as Appendix I and the Commission's decision on the admissibility of the application forms Appendix II.

47. The full text of the pleadings of the parties, together with the documents lodged as exhibits, are held in the archives of the Commission and are available to the Committee of Ministers, if required.

PART I - GENERAL

Chapter 1 - Application of Arts 28 and 31 of the Convention in the circumstances of the present case

48. The Commission, noting the respondent Government's refusal to participate in the proceedings provided for by Art 28 of the Convention (1), confirms the following observations made at paras 38 to 44 of its Interim Report (cf para 28 above).

> "38. The respondent Government, after having taken part, together with the applicant Government, in the Commission's proceedings on the admissibility of the application, refuse to participate in the present proceedings on the merits, particularly on the ground already advanced at the stage of admissibility that the application was not lodged with the Commission by a competent authority of the Republic of Cyprus.
>
> 39. The Commission recalls that, as stated in the Preamble, the High Contracting Parties have in the Convention taken 'the first steps for the collective enforcement' of the rights defined in Section I of the Convention and that, under Art 19, they have set up the Commission and the Court for this purpose. A system of collective protection of human rights, as established by the Convention, requires, in order to be effective, the co-operation with the Commission of all High Contracting States concerned in a case. This is reflected in Art 28 para (a) of the Convention, which expressly obliges the parties to an admitted application to 'furnish all necessary facilities' for the Commission's investigation.
>
> 40. The Commission cannot accept the respondent Government's statement, that they do not recognise the applicant Government as the Government of Cyprus, as a ground which could absolve Turkey from its obligation to co-operate with the Commission in the present proceedings. The Commission has already stated in its decision on the admissibility that the Convention establishes a system of collective enforcement and that an application brought under Art 24 does not of itself envisage any direct rights or obligations between the High Contracting Parties concerned.

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(1) See above paras 19, 23, 27, 31, 35, 39 and 41 in fine.

> 41. The respondent Government maintain that Turkey cannot be obliged to recognise the applicant Government as representing the Republic of Cyprus. They have also submitted that Art 28 of the Convention, which governs the procedure on the merits of an admitted application, requires direct contacts between the parties concerned.
>
> 42. The Commission observes, firstly, that its decision admitting the present application is conclusive on the Parties and, secondly, that the question of the recognition of the applicant Government by the respondent Government does not arise at the proceedings on the merits. Commission proceedings under Art 28 do not necessitate direct contacts between the parties concerned.
>
> 43. The Commission considers further that to accept that a Government may void 'collective enforcement' of the Convention under Art 24, by asserting that they do not recognise the Government of the applicant State, would defeat the purpose of the Convention.
>
> 44. The Commission finally notes that the respondent Government, while not recognising the applicant Government as Government of Cyprus, nevertheless participated as a Party concerned, under Art 32, and submitted a memorandum, in the Committee of Ministers' examination of the merits of the two previous applications (N°s 6780/74 and 6950/75) by Cyprus against Turkey. Those proceedings were, like the present one, governed by the Convention."

49. The Commission also confirms its opinion, stated at para 45 of the Interim Report "that, by its refusal to participate in the Commission's examination of the merits of the present application, Turkey has so far failed to respect its obligations under Art 28 of the Convention" and it recalls that it requested the Committee of Ministers "to urge Turkey, as a High Contracting Party to the European Convention on Human Rights, to meet its obligations under this Convention and accordingly to participate in the Commission's examination of the merits of the present application, as required by Art 28" (para 48 of the Interim Report).

50. The Commission notes the Decision adopted by the Committee of Ministers during the 326th meeting of the Ministers' Deputies (24 November to 4 December 1980) in which the Committee, having taken cognizance of the Commission's Interim Report, "Recalls the obligations imposed on all the Contracting Parties by Article 28 of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms." (cf para 29 above).

51. The respondent Government nevertheless did not comply with the Commission's subsequent invitations to file observations and to appear at a hearing (1).

52. The Commission has already stated in the two previous applications by Cyprus against Turkey that a respondent party's failure to co-operate in proceedings under Art 28 does not prevent it from completing, as far as possible, its examination of the application and from making a Report to the Committee of Ministers under Art 31 of the Convention (2). In those applictions the Commission, in the absence of any submissions by the respondent Government on the merits of the complaints, accordingly "proceeded with its establishment of the facts on the basis of the material before it" (3).

53. In the present case the Commission, adopting the same procedure, has again based its Report on the material before it, including the submissions made by the Parties on the admissibility of the application. In this connection it has also considered Annex I to the respondent Government's observations on the admissibility, a document entitled "Observations by Mr R.R. Denktash, President of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus". The Commission's notice of this document does not imply any view on the position of Mr Denktash, other than that his observations, as reproduced therein, are considered as forming part of those of the respondent Government (4).

Chapter 2 - Legal interest

54. The respondent Government, in their observations on the admissibility, objected that the present application "deals with the same alleged acts and events as those already covered in Applications N°s 6780/74 and 6950/75", which alleged "the detention or death of about 2,000 missing persons, the displacement of persons, the separation of families and various infringements of Greek Cypriots' property rights". According to the Government the same alleged acts and events were covered by the Commission's Report in the previous applications (5).

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(1) Cf above paras 30, 31, 34, 35, 38, 39 and 41 in fine.

(2) Report of 10 July 1976, para 55.

(3) Ibidem para 79.

(4) Cf also para 63 below.

(5) Cf below p 109.

Chapter 3 - Responsibility of Turkey under the Convention

63. In its decision on the admissibility of the present application, the Commission, confirming its finding in the previous case, stated that the Turkish armed forces in Cyprus brought any persons or property there "within the jurisdiction" of Turkey, in the sense of Art 1 of the Convention, to the extent that they exercised control over such persons or property. The Commission further observed that Cyprus had since 1974 been prevented from exercising its jurisdiction in the northern part of its territory by the presence there of armed forces of Turkey; that the recognition by Turkey of the Turkish Cypriot administration in that area as "Turkish Federated State of Cyprus" did not, according to the respondent Government's own submissions, affect the continuing existence of the Republic of Cyprus as a single State; and that, consequently, the "Turkish Federated State of Cyprus" could not be regarded as an entity which exercised "jurisdiction", within the meaning of Art 1 of the Convention, over any part of Cyprus. The Commission concluded that Turkey's jurisdiction in the north of the Republic of Cyprus, existing by reason of the presence of her armed forces there which prevented exercise of jurisdiction by the applicant Government, could not be excluded on the ground that jurisdiction in that area was allegedly exercised by the "Turkish Federated State of Cyprus".

64. The Commission does not find it necessary to add anything to its above observations as regards the imputability to Turkey of any particular violation of the Convention by her own armed forces which may be established in Parts II and III of this Report. As to violations of the Convention by acts of the Turkish Cypriot administration the Commission considers that, as submitted by the applicant Government (1), the existence of some kind of civil administration in northern Cyprus does not exclude Turkish responsibility given the degree of control which Turkey has in northern Cyprus. In particular, the Commission is satisfied that fundamental changes of the conditions in northern Cyprus cannot be decided without the express or tacit approval of the Turkish authorities.

65. As in the previous case (2), the Commission finally observes in this connection that the substance of the present application required it to confine its investigation essentially to acts and incidents for which Turkey, as a High Contracting Party, might be held responsible. Alleged violations of the Convention by Cyprus could be taken into account as such only if Turkey or another High Contracting Party had raised them in an application to the Commission under Art 24 of the Convention.

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(1) Verbatim record of the hearing of 7 March 1983, p 32.

(2) Report of 10 July 1976, para 85.

PART IV - CONCLUSIONS

The Commission,

Having examined the allegations in this application (see Parts II and III above);

Having found that Art 15 of the Convention does not apply (see Part I, Chapter 4);

Arrives at the following findings and conclusions:

1. Missing persons (para 123 above)

The Commission, having found it established in three cases, and having found sufficient indications in an indefinite number of cases, that Greek Cypriots who are still missing were unlawfully deprived of their liberty, in Turkish custody in 1974, noting that Turkey has failed to account for the fate of these persons, concludes by 16 votes against one that Turkey has violated Art 5 of the Convention.

2. Displacement of persons and separation of families (paras 135, 136 above)

The Commission concludes, by 13 votes against two with two abstentions that, by her continued refusal to allow over 170,000 Greek Cypriots the return to their homes in the North of Cyprus, Turkey continues to violate Art 8 in all these cases.

The Commission further concludes by 14 votes against two and with one abstention, that, in the cases of continued separation of families resulting from Turkey's refusal to allow the return of Greek Cypriots to their family members in the North, Turkey continues to violate Art 8 of the Convention.

3. Deprivation of possessions (para 155 above)

The Commission concludes, by 13 votes against one and with three abstentions, that Turkey has violated Art 1 of Protocol N° 1.

4. Absence of remedies (para 158 above)

The Commission, in its examination of the merits of this complaint, does not find it necessary to add anything to its finding in the decision on admissibility.

5. Discrimination (para 162 above)

Having again found violations of the rights of Greek Cypriots under a number of Articles of the Convention in the present case, the Commission does not consider it necessary to add anything to its finding under Art 14 in the previous case.

6. Position of Turkish Cypriots (para 165 above)

The Commission, having regard to the material before it, finds that it does not have sufficient available evidence enabling it to come to any conclusion regarding this complaint.

Secretary to the Commission

(H.C. KRUGER)

President of the Commission

CA Nørgaard

(C.A. NØRGAARD)

APPENDIX 8

LIST OF TURKISH CYPRIOT MISSING PERSONS

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN DATE	LAST SEEN PLACE	FACTS
1.	Ali Osman	53	M	Civilian	Government official	31/12/1963	K/Kaymaklı (Omorphita)- A Turkish suburb of Nicosia	Abducted from his home by armed Greek Cypriot Policemen and soldiers
2.	Ahmet Kara Ali	50	M	Civilian	Labourer	25/12/1963	"	" "
3.	Niyazi Cemal	39	M	Civilian	Driver	27/12/1963	Aredhiou village	" "
4.	Osman Hüdaverdi	33	M	Civilian	Fireman	25/12/1963	K/Kaymaklı	" "
5.	Seyit Hüseyin	37	M	Civilian	Prison Warder	27/12/1963	"	" "
6.	Salih Mehmet	55	M	Civilian	Farmer	29/12/1963	Aredhiou village	" "
7.	Ali Mehmet	24	M	Civilian	Auxiliary Police	27/12/1963	K/Kaymaklı	" "
8.	Turgut Hasan	23	M	Civilian	"	"	"	" "
9.	Rahmi Hasan	49	M	Civilian	Shepherd	Jan. 1964	Livera village	Abducted from his home with his wife and five children by armed Greek Cypriots

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN DATE	LAST SEEN PLACE	FACTS
10.	Ayşe Rahmi	32	F	Civilian	Housewife	Jan. 1964	Livera village	Abducted from her home with her husband and 5 children by armed Greek Cypriots.
11.	Hasan Rahmi	15	M	Civilian	Student	"	"	Abducted from his home with his parents, brothers and sisters by armed Greek Cypriots.
12.	Zahide Rahmi	12	F	Civilian	Student	"		" "
13.	Ahmet Rahmi	7	M	Civilian	Child	"		" "
14.	Şerife Rahmi	5	F	Civilian	Infant	"		" "
15.	Mustafa Rahmi	2	M	Civilian	Infant	"		" "
16.	Hasan Hüsnü	40	M	Civilian	Peddler	26/12/1963	K/Kaymaklı	Abducted from his home by armed Greek Cypriot Policemen and soldiers
17.	Osman Cevdet	45	M	Civilian	Baker	"	"	" "
18.	Şükrü Şevki	44	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
19.	Hasan Hüseyin Çinko	23	M	Civilian	Auto Painter	27/12/1963	"	" "
20.	Hüseyin Mehmet Emin	22	M	Civilian	Mechanic	29/12/1963	"	" "

(50a)

(APPENDIX [illegible])

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN DATE	LAST SEEN PLACE	FACTS
21.	İsmayıl Mustafa	28	M	Civilian	Barber	29/12/1963	K/Kaymaklı	Abducted from his home by armed Greek Cypriot Policemen and soldiers
22.	Turgut Fahri	24	M	Civilian	Mechanic	"	"	" "
23.	Kemal Ahmet Koççino	38	M	Civilian	Labourer	26/12/1963	"	" "
24.	Hasan Hakkı	20	M	Civilian	Shepherd	"	"	" "
25.	Mehmet Ahmet Koççino	45	M	Civilian	Shepherd	"	"	" "
26.	İrfan Mehmet	24	M	Civilian	Bank Official	29/12/1963	"	" "
27.	Omer Hasan Debreli	46	M	Civilian	Driver	26/12/1963	"	" "
28.	İbrahim Ahmet	60	M	Civilian	Labourer	30/12/1963	"	" "
29.	Kemal Hüseyin	34	M	Civilian	Labourer	29/12/1963	Aredhiou village	" "
30.	Mehmet Yusuf	46	M	Civilian	Peasant	4/ 2/1964	Khoulou village	" "
31.	Nayım Hüseyin	19	M	Civilian	Teacher	29/12/1963	Aredhiou village	" "

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN DATE	LAST SEEN PLACE	FACTS
32.	Ali Fuat Mustafa	49	M	Civilian	Labourer	31/12/1963	Büyükkonuk-(Komikebir) Nicosia Rd.	Abducted while travelling on roads by armed Greek Cypriot Policemen and civilians
33.	Halil Mustafa Kemiksiz	44	M	Civilian	Driver	"	"	" "
34.	İbrahim Durmuş Muya	60	M	Civilian	Farmer	"	"	" "
35.	Ahmet Kocamehmet	39	M	Civilian	Farmer	6/ 5/1964	Lefkoniko Area	" "
36.	Ahmet İbrahim	56	M	Civilian	Driver	21/ 8/1964	Polis-Paphos Rd.	" "
37.	Adnan Ali Riza	40	M	Civilian-	Tailor	10/ 3/1964	Limassol	" "
38.	Abdullah Haşim	27	M	Civilian	Horticulturist	7/ 3/1964	Nicosia-Larnaca Rd.	" "
39.	Fahri Ahmet	35	M	Civilian	"	"	"	" "
40.	Arif Hasan	21	M	Civilian	Labourer	19/ 3/1964	Dhekelia-Larnaca Rd.	" "
41.	Hasan Derviş	23	M	Civilian	Painter	"	"	" "
42.	Ahmet Mulla Mehmet	66	M	Civilian	Gardener	3/ 1/1964	Morphou	" "

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN		FACTS
						DATE	PLACE	
43.	Ali Hüseyin	49	M	Civilian	Green-grocer	25/7/1967	Paphos-Mandria Rd	Abducted while travelling on roads by armed Greek Cypriot Policemen and civilians
44.	Mehmet Mehdi Ziba	51	M	Civilian	Wholesaler	25/7/1967	"	" "
45.	Mustafa Mulla Hüseyin	27	M	Civilian	Driver	27/12/1963	Muttayiaka-Larnaca Rd.	" "
46.	Bayar Hüseyin Piskobulu	29	M	Civilian	Public Servant	18/4/1964	Nicosia-Limassol Rd.	" "
47.	Erol İsmayıl	28	M	Civilian	Driver	"	"	" "
48.	Ozel Reşat Kansoy	29	M	Civilian	Clerk	"	"	" "
49.	Cavit Sadık	45	M	Civilian	Shop-keeper	2/1/1964	"	" "
50.	Derviş Mehmet	39	M	Civilian	Labourer	24/12/1963	Nicosia-Kotchati Rd.	" "
51.	Erol Mehmet Ali	20	M	Civilian	Driver	22/2/1964	Latchia Rd.	" "
52.	Hüseyin Mustafa	58	M	Civilian	Coffeeshop owner	"	"	" "

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN		FACTS
						DATE	PLACE	
53.	Erdoğan Ahmet	29	M	Civilian	Mechanic	31/12/1963	Eylenja junction	Abducted at a road-block by armed Greek Cypriot Policemen and civilians while travelling in a convoy escorted by British soldiers
54.	Hasan Yılmaz	25	M	Civilian	Shop-keeper	"	"	" "
55.	Hasan Ahmet Skordo	41	M	Civilian	Butcher	"	"	" "
56.	Hasan Mehmet	35	M	Civilian	Motor mechanic	"	"	" "
57.	Ertoğrul Hasan Debreli	30	M	Civilian	Peddler	23/ 4/1964	Nicosia-F/gusta Rd.	Abducted while travelling on roads by armed Greek Cypriot Policemen and civilians
58.	Osman Hüseyin Mani	65	M	Civilian	Charcoal dealer	"	"	" "
59.	Emir Ali Hüseyin	62	M	Civilian	Green-grocer	24/ 4/1964	Limassol-Nicosia Rd.	" "
60.	Havva Emir Ali	54	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
61.	Ertan Ali	18	M	Civilian	Student	6/ 2/1964	Nicosia-F/sta Rd.	" "
62.	Rifat Salih	41	M	Civilian	Driver	"	"	" "

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN DATE	LAST SEEN PLACE	FACTS
63.	Erol Arif	22	M	Civilian	Fireman	2/ 7/1964	Famagusta	Abducted while travelling on roads by armed Greek Cypriot Policemen and soldiers
64.	Fuat Mustafa	25	M	Civilian	Policeman	7/ 4/1964	K/Kaymaklı	" "
65.	Fuat Hasan Gülali	23	M	Civilian	Labourer	2/ 1/1964	Trikomo	" "
66.	Ahmet Ali Osman	41	M	Civilian	Driver	"	"	" "
67.	İsmayıl Mustafa Balcı	38	M	Civilian	SBA Policeman	"	"	" "
68.	Fuat Hüseyin	32	M	Civilian	Labourer	24/ 4/1964	Nicosia-Lefka Rd.	" "
69.	Enver Hüsnü	25	M	Civilian	Driver	"	"	" "
70.	Fikri Haşim	28	M	Civilian	Driver	"	"	" "
71.	Fezile Ali	50	F	Civilian	Housewife	30/ 4/1964	Nicosia-Limassol Rd.	" "
72.	Kamil Mehmet	50	M	Civilian	Driver	"	"	" "
73.	Mehmet Sinan	65	M	Civilian	Grocer	"	"	" "
74.	Pembe Mehmet Sinan	55	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
75.	Mehmet Ahmet	45	M	Civilian	Driver	"	"	" "

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST	SEEN	FACTS
						DATE	PLACE	
76.	Fuat Mulla Salih	49	M	Civilian	Welder	25/ 7/1967	Paphos	Abducted while travelling on roads by armed Greek Cypriot Policemen and soldiers
77.	Hilmi Hamit	34	M	Civilian	Mason	3/ 2/1964	H/Mandres Nicosia Rd.	" "
78.	Hüseyin Mustafa Vreççalı	39	M	Civilian	Shepherd	26/12/1963	K/Kaymaklı	" "
79.	Hüseyin Osman	31	M	Civilian	Labourer	28/12/1963	Kokkinotrimithia Greek Police Stn.	" "
80.	Hüseyin Mehmet	34	M	Civilian	Driver	24/ 5/1964	Nicosia-Limassol Rd.	" "
81.	Rezvan Hasan	38	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
82.	Salahi Mehmet Ali	36	M	Civilian	Driver	"	"	" "
83.	Hasan Osman	26	M	Civilian	Rural Constable	26/ 1/1964	Turunçlu-Vatili Rd.	" "
84.	Hüseyin Halil Kavaz	60	M	Civilian	Green-grocer	30/ 4/1964	Nicosia-Limassol Rd.	" "
85.	Hüseyin İbrahim	21	M	Civilian	Upholsterer	25/12/1963	Kotchiati-Nisou Rd.	" "

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN		FACTS
						DATE	PLACE	
86.	Cemal Mustafa	21	M	Civilian	Farmer	25/12/1963	Kotchati-Nisou Rd.	Abducted while travelling on roads by armed Greek Cypriot Policemen and soldirrs.
87.	Hüseyin Osman Fogo	29	M	Civilian	Driver	11/ 4/1964	Yeşilırmak (Limnitis)-Nicosia Rd.	" "
88.	Hüseyin Fikret Pipili	56	M	Civilian	Grocer	10/ 4/1964	Pervolia (Larnaca)	" "
89.	Hasan Hüseyin Dohnili	45	M	Civilian	Farmer	25/ 4/1964	Nicosia-L/ssol Rd.	" "
90.	Nevzat Hüseyin	26	M	Civilian	Peddler	"	"	" "
91.	Hüseyin Paşa	55	M	Civilian	Driver	10/ 7/1964	Nicosia-Petrofani Rd.	" "
92.	Mehmet Ahmet Dubara	50	M	Civilian	Butcher	"	"	" "
93.	Hasan Recep Cin	56	M	Civilian	Veterinarian Asst.	11/ 8/1964	Varosha	" "
94.	Hüseyin Mehmet Buba	50	M	Civilian	Driver	26/12/1963	Dhali-Nicosia Rd.	" "
95.	İbrahim Gazi	30	M	Civilian	Employee of British Bases	7/ 4/1964	Nicosia-Mora Rd.	" "

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No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN DATE	LAST SEEN PLACE	FACTS
96.	İsmayıl İsmayıl	25	M	Civilian	Electrician	31/1/1964	Nicosia-Louroujina Road	Abducted while travellin on roads by armed Greek Cypriot Policemen and soldiers
97.	Mehmet Hasan Onbaşı	24	M	Civilian	Carpenter	"	"	" "
98.	İbrahim Osman	57	M	Civilian	Driver	15/5/1964	Nicosia-Larnaca Rd	" "
99.	Mehmet Mustafa Abuzet	24	M	Civilian	Driver	"	"	" "
100.	Kerim Mustafa	26	M	Civilian	Driver	17/4/1964	Nicosia-F/sta Rd.	" "
101.	Turgut Mehmet	21	M	Civilian	Shoe-maker	10/5/1964	Nicosia	" "
102.	Mehmet Aziz	39	M	Civilian	Driver	9/1/1964	Nicosia-Bağlıköy (Ambelikou) Road	" "
103.	Mustafa Salih Paşa	51	M	Civilian	Driver	"	"	" "
104.	Mustafa Kara Mehmet	37	M	Civilian	Driver	22/2/1964	Lefka-Nicosia Rd	" "

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN		FACTS
						DATE	PLACE	
105.	Mustafa Osman Akay	24	M	Civilian	Tradesman	29/ 4/1964	Nicosia-F/Sta Rd.	Abducted while travelling on roads by armed Greek Cypriot Policemen and soldiers.
106.	Mustafa Salih Karaman	66	M	Civilian	Peddler	29/ 4/1964	"	" "
107.	Mehmet İdris	60	M	Civilian	Labourer	19/ 4/1964	Varosha	" "
108.	Mehmet Osman Balligari	55	M	Civilian	Labourer	27/12/1963	Lourudjina-Dhali Rd.	" "
109.	Memduh Sadık	27	M	Civilian	Vegetable Seller	20/ 4/1964	Nicosia-L/ssol Rd.	" "
110.	Mehmet Osman	36	M	Civilian	Driver	6/ 1/1964	Nicosia	" "
111.	Mustafa Hüseyin Hüsnü Abuzet	30	M	Civilian	Labourer	25/ 2/1964	Larnaca-Kyvisil Rd.	" "
112.	Mustafa İzzet Zorba	41	M	Civilian	Peddler	1/10/1964	Nicosia-F/sta Rd.	" "
113.	Münür Yusuf	29	M	Civilian	Labourer	28/12/1963	K/Kaymaklı (Omorphita)	" "
114.	Nuh Ahmet	28	M	Civilian	Clerk	9/ 3/1964	Kyrenia-Kazaphani Rd.	" "

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN		FACTS
						DATE	PLACE	
115.	Osman Derviş	50	M	Civilian	Watchman	31/12/1963	K/Kaymaklı (Omorphita)	Abducted while travelling on roads by armed Greek Cypriot Policemen and soldiers.
116.	Osman Osman	24	M	Civilian	Driver	7/ 2/1964	Margi - Ay. SozomenosRd.	" "
117.	Ramadan Ahmet	22	M	Civilian	Builder	29/12/1963	Tera-Arodhes Rd.	" "
118.	Ramiz Mehmet	60	M	Civilian	Labourer	5/ 9/1964	Dohni-Zyyi Rd.	" "
119.	Sadık Elmaz	45	M	Civilian	Vegetable Seller	20/ 4/1964	Nicosia-L/ssol Rd.	" "
120.	Süleyman Hüseyin Aspri	44	M	Civilian	Shop-keeper	27/12/1963	Larnaca	" "
121.	Şükrü Tevfik	39	M	Civilian	Labourer	31/12/1963	K/Kaymaklı (Omorphyta)	" "
122.	Şevket Cemal	34	M	Civilian	Clerk	23/12/1963	Akaki village	" "
123.	Sami Hüseyin Arap	31	M	Civilian	Labourer	1/ 1/1964	Lefka - Ay. Irini Rd.	" "

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN		FACTS
						DATE	PLACE	
124.	Şahap Şemi	40	M	Civilian	Assistant District Inspector	26/12/1963	Larnaca Police Station	Abducted while travelling on roads by armed Greek Cypriot Policemen and soldiers.
125.	Şükrü Redif	57	M	Civilian	Farmer	25/ 7/1967	Ktima	Abducted at District Commissioner's Office by Greek Cypriot Policemen
126.	Şefik Şükrü	20	M	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
127.	Vasıf Hasan	25	M	Civilian	Labourer	18/12/1963	Nicosia	Abducted while travelling on roads by armed Greek soldiers.
128.	Yusuf İshak	45	M	Civilian	Labourer	23/ 8/1964	Anadhiou-Kritou MarottuRd.	Abducted while travelling on roads by armed Greek Cypriot Policemen and soldiers.
129.	Yusuf Abdullah	40	M	.Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
130.	Ziya Ali	20	M	Civilian	Labourer	13/ 2/1964	Episkopi-L/ssol Rd.	" "
131.	Zühtü Mehmet Emir Ali	35	M	Civilian	Labourer	March 1965	Ktima	" "
132.	Zihni Hasan	60	M	Civilian	Labourer	May 1965	Polis	" "

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST	SEEN	FACTS
						DATE	PLACE	
133.	Turgut Sıtkı	25	M	Civilian	Teacher	14/ 2/1964	Polis	Abducted while evacuating the women and children from the armed Greek Cypriot attacks.
134.	Cengiz Katip	33	M	Civilian	Member of the Communal Chamber	"	"	" "
135.	Kemal Mustafa	27	M	Civilian	Builder	"	Ktima	" "
136.	Hüseyin Niyazi	26	M	Civilian	Policeman	"	"	" "
137.	Tahir Kani	40	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
138.	İbrahim Kazım	18	M	Civilian	Tinsmith	"	"	" "
139.	Lütfi Celul	31	M	Civilian	Driver	1/ 1/1964	Kokkina-Lefka Rd.	Abducted while travelling on roads by armed Greek Cypriot Policemen and soldiers.
140.	Saydam Hüsnü	24	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
141.	İbrahim Nidai	32	M	Civilian	Clerk	25/12/1963	Kyrenia-Lapithos Road	" "
142.	Şevket Kadir	24	M	Civilian	Horti-culturist	"	"	" "

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN		FACTS
						DATE	PLACE	
143.	Ozay Said	25	M	Civilian	Driver	24/12/1963	Nicosia	Abducted while travelling home from his work place by armed Greek Cypriot Policemen and civilians. He was the driver of the manager of the "U.S. Aid Mission to Cyprus".
144.	Salih Mustafa	25	M	Civilian	Labourer	17/ 2/1966	Limassol	Abducted while travelling on roads by armed Greek Cypriot Policemen and soldiers.
145.	Sezai Nidai	23	M	Civilian	Carpenter	26/12/1963	K/Kaymaklı	" "
146.	Behri Yusuf Lambiro	40	M	Civilian	Driver	5/ 5/1965	Larnaca	" "
147.	Şükrü Hasan	30	M	Civilian	Labourer	June, 1966	Xero Area	" "
148.	Cemal Hüseyin Arifoğlu	26	M	Civilian	Carpenter	27/12/1963	K/Kaymaklı	" "
149.	Halil Ziya Desteban	53	M	Civilian	Vegetable seller	17/ 5/1964	Pervolia-Meneu Rd.	" "
150.	Erdem Mehmet	24	M	Civilian	Carpenter	27/12/1963	K/Kaymaklı	" "
151.	Ahmet Mustafa	57	M	Civilian	NAAFI Employee	11/ 5/1964	NAAFI Stores	Abducted by Greek Cypriot gunmen from his place of work at NAAFI stores, F/sta. (See UN Secretary General's Report S/5950, para 142 of 10/9/1964)

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN		FACTS
						DATE	PLACE	
152.	Cambulat Ali	34	M	Civilian	NAAFI Employee	11/ 5/1964	NAAFI Stores	Abducted by Greek Cypriot gunmen from his place of work at NAAFI stores, Famagusta. (See UN Secretary General's Report S/5950, para 142 of 10/9/1964)
153.	Hamit Mustafa	23	M	Civilian	"	"	"	" "
154.	Hüdaverdi Yusuf Osman	46	M	Civilian	"	"	"	" "
155.	Hasan Ziya	29	M	Civilian	"	"	"	" "
156.	Kemal Mehmet Emin	39	M	Civilian	"	"	"	" "
157.	Ziya Yusuf	33	M	Civilian	"	"	"	" "
158.	Mustafa Hasan	32	M	Civilian	"	"	Pergamos-F/Sta Rd.	Abducted by Greek Cypriot gunmen on their way to work at NAAFI.
159.	Hüseyin Ahmet	29	M	Civilian	"	"	"	" "
160.	Hasan Ertoğrul Veli	39	M	Civilian	Bank Manager	"	Barclays Bank F/sta.	Abducted from his desk in Barclays Bank by Greek Cypriot gunmen

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN		FACTS
						DATE	PLACE	
161.	Kemal Enver Veloks	28	M	Civilian	British Base Employee (Auxiliary Police)	13/ 5/1964	Larnaca-Dhekelia Road	Abducted by armed Greek Cypriots while travelling to their work place in SBA Dhekelia
162.	Kemal Mustafa	35	M	Civilian	"	12/ 5/1964	"	" "
163.	Hasan Mustafa Bari	32	M	Civilian	"	13/ 5/1964	"	" "
164.	Hasan Hüseyin Fehmi	31	M	Civilian	"	"	"	" "
165.	Kamil Raif Dimililer	36	M	Civilian	"	"	"	" "
166.	Mehmet Ahmet İndiano	52	M	Civilian	"	"	"	" "
167.	Ahmet Fadıl Balamagi	22	M	Civilian	"	"	"	" "
168.	Behiç Hasan Göksan	35	M	Civilian	"	"	"	" "
169.	Durmuş Hasan	41	M	Civilian	"	"	"	" "
170.	Yusuf Tosun	61	M	Civilian	Driver	"	"	" "
171.	Bayram Mustafa	29	M	Civilian	British Base Employee	"	"	" "
172.	Abdullah Emirzade	29	M	Civilian	Driver	11/ 5/1964	Vathilakas	Abducted while travelling on roads by armed Greek Cypriot Policemen and soldiers.

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN DATE	LAST SEEN PLACE	FACTS
173.	Ali Musa	34	M	Civilian	Driver	11/ 5/1964	Vathilakas	Abducted while travelling on roads by armed Greek Cypriot Policemen and soldiers.
174.	Bayar İbrahim	23	M	Civilian	Farmer	11/ 5/1964	Sinda-PergamosRd.	" "
175.	Hasan Taşer Mustafa	33	M	Civilian	Civil servant	"	"	" "
176.	Şifa Mehmet Ali	56	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
177.	Hüseyin Ahmet	58	M	Civilian	Farmer	11/ 5/1964	Famagusta-Pervolis (Tricomo)Rd	" "
178.	Şefika Hüseyin	38	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
179.	Hasan Halil Bulli	56	M	Civilian	Farmer	11/ 5/1964	Monarga	" "
180.	Mehmet Arif Kamil	49	M	Civilian	Driver	11/ 5/1964	Psillatos-Sinda Rd.	" "
181.	Ali Hüseyin Genç	35	M	Civilian	Shop-keeper	11/ 5/1964	Nicosia-F/sta Rd.	" "
182.	Fuat Niyazi	20	M	Civilian	Student	12/ 5/1964	Scala-Mari Rd.	" "

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN		FACTS
						DATE	PLACE	
183.	Eşref Salih	21	M	Civilian	Electrician	12/ 5/1964	Scala-Mari Rd.	Abducted while travelling on roads by armed Greek Cypriot Policemen and soldiers
184.	Reşat Ahmet	48	M	Civilian	Driver	"	"	" "
185.	Celal Necip	80	M	Civilian	Farmer	12/ 5/1964	Mallia	" "
186.	Hasan Nural Cevdet	24	M	Civilian	Policeman	28/12/1963	Kokkino-trimithia Police Station	Abducted while he was on duty at Kokkinotrimithia Police Station by armed Greek Cypriot Policemen and civilians
187.	Ozer Ekrem Emin	27	M	Civilian	Policeman	"	"	Abducted from Peristerona Police Station by armed Greek Cypriot Policemen and civilians
188.	Ahmet Osman	32	M	Civilian	Police Sergeant	"	"	" "
189.	Mustafa Ali	23	M	Civilian	Labourer at RAF	23/12/1963	Nicosia Int. Airport	Abducted from his place of work by a Greek Cypriot civilian.
190.	Hüseyin Ali	47	M	Civilian	Labourer	21/12/1963	Agis Farm-Mia Milia	Abducted by armed Greek Cypriots from his place of work.

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN DATE	LAST SEEN PLACE	FACTS
191.	Mehmet Raif	48	M	Civilian	Clerk	22/12/1963	Nicosia	Abducted while travelling to his work place of CYTA by armed Greek Cypriot civilians
192.	Ramadan İsmayıl	21	M	Civilian	Labourer	21/12/1963	Ay. Demetrianos Farm	Anducted by armed Greek Cypriots from his place of work
193.	Ali Mustafa	50	M	Civilian	Labourer at RAF	23/12/1963	Nicosia Airport area	Abducted by armed Greek Cypriots at Nicosia Airport area
194.	Ozkan Salim	18	M	Civilian	Student	24/ 4/1964	Aghirda area	Abducted by armed Greek Cypriots at Aghirda area
195.	Ahmet Hasan Dayı	51	M	Civilian	Shepherd	24/ 4/1964	Aghirda fields	Abducted by armed Greek Cypriot soldiers whilst grazing his flock at Aghirda fields
196.	Aytekin Zekai	28	M	Civilian	Civil servant	24/ 4/1964	Aghirda area	Abducted by armed Greek Cypriot soldiers at Aghirda area
197.	Vasit Mustafa	29	M	Civilian	Sandwich seller	22/12/1963	Nicosia	Abducted by armed Greek Cypriot Policemen after being fired at
198.	Mustafa Arif	41	M	Civilian	Prison Warden	23/12/1963	Nicosia General Hospital	Abducted by his Greek Cypriot colleagues while under treatment at Nicosia General Hospital

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN		FACTS
						DATE	PLACE	
199.	Behçet Mehmet	20	M	Civilian	Shepherd	29/12/1963	Tokhni fields	Abducted from the fields by armed Greek Cypriots
200.	Mustafa Mehmet	28	M	Civilian	"	"	"	" "
201.	Ali Mehmet	56	M	Civilian	"	24/ 5/1964	Mandres-Sykhari fields	" "
202.	Emir Ali Murat	75	M	Civilian	"	14/ 8/1964	Arodhes fields	" "
203.	Fehim Hüseyin	20	M	Civilian	"	7/ 1/1964	Piroi fields	" "
204.	Kamil Hüseyin Kuşuri	62	M	Civilian	"	"	"	" "
205.	Fikret Hüseyin	22	M	Civilian	"	30/12/1963	Ay.Sozomenos fields	" "
206.	İbrahim Ali Bippiro	54	M	Civilian	"	17/ 2/1964	AyTheodoros fields	" "
207.	Ramadan Şeker Ali	42	M	Civilian	"	18/ 7/1965	Mathiati fields	" "
208.	Salih Ahmet Düztaban	35	M	Civilian	"	28/12/1963	Kaimakli	" "
209.	Şevket Salih Sakallı	45	M	Civilian	"	5/ 2/1964	Kyvisili fields	" "

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN DATE	LAST SEEN PLACE	FACTS
210.	Halil Abdullah	70	M	Civilian	Farmer	4/ 2/ 1964	Khoulou	Abducted from the fields by armed Greek Cypriots
211.	İsmayıl Emin	80	M	Civilian	Shepherd	"	"	" "
212.	Yusuf Hüseyin Başi	80	M	Civilian	Farmer	18/ 5/1964	Loutros fields	" "
213.	Yusuf Emir Hasan	74	M	Civilian	Shepherd	5/ 2/1964	Kyvisili fields	" "
214.	Ayşe Hasan Buba	49	F	Civilian	Housewife	24/12/1963	Ay. Vasilios	Abducted from her/his house in the mixed village of Ay. Vasilios
215.	Ayşe İbrahim	11	F	Civilian	Pupil	"	"	" "
216.	Bayram Hasan	70	M	Civilian	Farmer	"	"	" "
217.	Hüseyin Cemal	18	M	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
218.	İsmayıl Mustafa	70	M	Civilian	Shepherd	"	"	" "
219.	Mehmet Ali Omer	54	M	Civilian	Shepherd	"	"	" "
220.	Mehmet Hasan Buba	85	M	Civilian	Shepherd	"	"	" "
221.	Mustafa İsmayıl	37	M	Civilian	Shepherd	"	"	" "

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN		FACTS
						DATE	PLACE	
222.	Omer Hasan	19	M	Civilian	Shepherd	24/12/1963	Ay. Vasilios	Abducted from his house in the mixed village of Ay. Vasilios.
223.	Yakup Ali Çavuş	45	M	Civilian	RAF Aux. Police	"	Nicosia Airport	Abducted by Greek Cypriots from his work-place.
224.	Hüseyin Yalçın	23	M	Civilian	Teacher	"	Ay.Marina village	Abducted by armed Greek Cypriots in the mixed village of Ay. Marina.
225.	Omer Mehmet Ali	65	M	Civilian	Shepherd	"	Ay. Vasilios	Abducted from his house in the mixed village of Ay Vasilios.
226.	Hasan Mehmet Kabadayı	17	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
227.	Emine Rüstem	38	F	Civilian	Housewife	14/ 8/1974	Maratha village	Taken away from his/her village Maratha/Sandallaris by armed Greek Cypriot elements.
228.	Sezin Rüstem	15	F	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
229.	Mustafa Rüstem	13	M	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
230.	Erbay Rüstem	12	M	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
231.	Sibel Rüstem	10	F	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN DATE	PLACE	FACTS
232.	Raziye Hasan	75	F	Civilian	Housewife	14/8/1974	Maratha village	Taken away from his/her village Maratha/Sandallaris by armed Greek Cypriot elements.
233.	Mustafa Hasan	48	M	Civilian	Farmer	"	"	" "
234.	Havva Mustafa	40	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
235.	Temray Mustafa	20	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
236.	Türker Mustafa	16	M	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
237.	Tacay Mustafa	13	F	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
238.	Zalihe Hüseyin	70	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
239.	Ayşe Süleyman	47	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
240.	Dinavaz Süleyman	16	F	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
241.	Zalihe Süleyman	15	F	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
242.	Emine Süleyman	14	F	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
243.	Aliye Süleyman	12	F	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
244.	Havva Süleyman	11	F	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
245.	Gültekin Süleyman	9	M	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN		FACTS
						DATE	PLACE	
246.	Rasime Osman	45	F	Civilian	Housewife	14/8/1974	Maratha village	Taken away from his/her village Maratha/Sandallaris by armed Greek Cypriot elements.
247.	Sezay Osman	16	F	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
248.	Hüseyin Osman	95	M	Civilian	Pensioner	"	"	" "
249.	Ayşe Hüseyin Osman	88	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
250.	Emine Bayram	38	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
251.	Halil Bayram	11	M	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
252.	Eren Bayram	9	M	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
253.	Ayşe Bayram	8	F	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
254.	Mustafa Bayram	6	M	Civilian	Child	"	"	" "
255.	Şerife Bayram	1	F	Civilian	Infant	"	"	" "
256.	Mehmet Osman	82	M	Civilian	Pensioner	"	"	" "
257.	Zühre Mehmet	80	F	Civilian	Pensioner	"	"	" "
258.	Nadire Süleyman	70	F	Civilian	Pensioner	"	"	" "

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN		FACTS
						DATE	PLACE	
259.	Enver Hüseyin	65	M	Civilian	Housewife	14/8/1974	Maratha village	Taken away from his/her village Maratha/Sandallaris by armed Greek Cypriot elements.
260.	Hasan Sadık	84	M	Civilian	Pensioner	"	"	" "
261.	Fatma Arif	35	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
262.	Sevim Arif	15	F	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
263.	Seval Arif	12	F	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
264.	Hüseyin Arif	11	M	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
265.	Yüksel Arif	10	M	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
266.	Göksel Arif	8	M	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
267.	Şeniz Arif	5	F	Civilian	Child	"	"	" "
268.	Hayriye Arif	4/12	F	Civilian	Infant	"	"	" "
269.	Derviş Sadık	70	M	Civilian	Pensioner	"	"	" "
270.	Havva Derviş	60	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
271.	Hatice Derviş	22	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN DATE	LAST SEEN PLACE	FACTS
272.	Fatma Mehmet Tavukçu	35	F	Civilian	Housewife	14/8/1974	Maratha village	Taken away from his/her village Maratha/Sandallaris by armed Greek Cypriot elements.
273.	Mustafa Mehmet Tavukçu	10	M	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
274.	Talat Mehmet Tavukçu	8	M	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
275.	Mustafa Mehmet	55	M	Civilian	Farmer	"	"	" "
276.	Ayşe Mustafa	50	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
277.	Okay Mustafa	14	M	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
278.	Dudu Ali Osman	70	F	Civilian	Pensioner	"	"	" "
279.	Şifa Mehmet	60	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
280.	Ulfet Mehmet Salih	70	F	Civilian	Pensioner	"	"	" "
281.	Halil Hüseyin	65	M	Civilian	Pensioner	"	"	" "
282.	Emine Halil	60	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
283.	Cemaliye Hasan	42	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
284.	Rahme Hasan	19	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN		FACTS
						DATE	PLACE	
285.	Ayşe Hasan	15	F	Civilian	Student	14/8/1974	Maratha village	Taken away fromhis/her village Maratha/Sandallaris by armed Greek Cypriot elements.
286.	Ersoy Hasan	12	M	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
287.	Sevgi Hasan	10	F	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
288.	Uğur Hasan	9	M	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
289.	Ozcan Hasan	6	F	Civilian	Child	"	"	" "
290.	Erdoğan Aziz	45	M	Civilian	Farmer	"	"	" "
291.	Fatma Erdoğan	38	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
292.	Kadriye Erdoğan	11	F	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
293.	Zehra Erdoğan	9	F	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
294.	Ahmet Erdoğan	8	M	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
295.	Ayşe Erdoğan	3	F	Civilian	Infant	"	"	" "
296.	Emine Hüseyin	40	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
297.	Seval Hüseyin	19	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
298.	Mehmet Hüseyin	17	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN DATE	LAST SEEN PLACE	FACTS
299.	Ertan Hüseyin	14	M	Civilian	Student	14/8/1974	Maratha village	Taken away from his/her village Maratha/Sandallaris by armed Greek Cypriot elements.
300.	Erdinç Hüseyin	12	M	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
301.	Naziyet Mehmet	50	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
302.	Rahme Hasan	72	F	Civilian	Pensioner	"	"	" "
303.	Emine Mehmet Salih	80	F	Civilian	Pensioner	"	"	" "
304.	Güldane Mehmet	44	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
305.	Serpil Mehmet	19	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
306.	Sevgül Mehmet	18	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
307.	Mustafa Mehmet	17	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
308.	Semra Mehmet	14	F	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
309.	Hasan Mehmet	13	M	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
310.	Savaş Mehmet	11	M	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
311.	Cengiz Mehmet	10	M	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
312.	Songül Mehmet	6	F	Civilian	Child	"	"	" "

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN DATE	PLACE	FACTS
313.	Hasan Hüseyin Ali Çavuş	76	M	Civilian	Pensioner	14/8/1974	Maratha village	Taken away from his/her village Maratha/Sandalaris by armed Greek Cypriot elements.
314.	Aziz Fikri	11	M	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
315.	Tülay Süleyman	27	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	Aloa village	Taken away from his/her house in Aloa village by armed Greek Cypriot elements.
316.	Hasan Süleyman	9	M	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
317.	Kemal Süleyman	6	M	Civilian	Child	"	"	" "
318.	Okkan Süleyman	3	M	Civilian	Child	"	"	" "
319.	Ayşe Hasan	55	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
320.	Narin Hasan	15	F	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
321.	Kıymet Hasan	20	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
322.	Gürhan Ali Çerkez	12	M	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
323.	Betül Hüseyin	15/12	F	Civilian	Infant	"	"	" "
324.	Mualla Ali Faik	28	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
325.	Gülden Ali Faik	4	F	Civilian	Infant	"	"	" "

78a

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN DATE	LAST SEEN PLACE	FACTS
326.	Ozlem Ali Faik	2	F	Civilian	Infant	14/8/1974	Aloa village	Taken away from his/her house in Aloa village by armed Greek Cypriot elements
327.	Selden Ali Faik	16 days	F	Civilian	Infant	"	"	" "
328.	Fatma Tahir	40	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
329.	Emine Tahir	18	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
330.	Emine Hasan Muhammet	29	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
331.	Ahmet Hasan Muhammet	3	M	Civilian	Infant	"	"	" "
332.	Bahire Hasan Muhammet	3	F	Civilian	Infant	"	"	" "
333.	Hasan Kara Hüseyin	68	M	Civilian	Farmer	"	"	" "
334.	Şifa Hasan Kara Hüseyin	60	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
335.	Nadir Hasan Kara Hüseyin	24	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
336.	Meral Hasan Kara Hüseyin	20	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN		FACTS
						DATE	PLACE	
337.	Fatma Kamil Meriç	26	F	Civilian	Housewife	14/8/1974	Aloa village	Taken away from his/her house in Aloa village by armed Greek Cypriot elements.
338.	Vedia Kamil Meriç	6	F	Civilian	Child	"	"	" "
339.	Yonca Kamil Meriç	4	F	Civilian	Infant	"	"	" "
340.	Ozan Kamil Meriç	3	M	Civilian	Infant	"	"	" "
341.	Hakan Kamil Meriç	2	M	Civilian	Infant	"	"	" "
342.	Kağan Kamil Meriç	18/12	M	Civilian	Infant	"	"	" "
343.	Fatma Mehmet Naci	50	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
344.	Şükran Mehmet Naci	22	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
345.	Soncan Mehmet Naci	14	F	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
346.	Erünsal Mehmet Naci	10	M	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
347.	Nazım Hüseyin	6	M	Civilian	Child	"	"	" "

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN DATE	LAST SEEN PLACE	FACTS
348.	Sadiye Şadan	48	F	Civilian	Housewife	14/ 8/1974	Aloa village	Taken away from his/her house in Aloa village by armed Greek Cypriot elements
349.	Ulkü Şadan	22	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
350.	Fatma Şadan	19	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
351.	Rahme Cemal	65	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
352.	Hüseyin Erdoğan	6	M	Civilian	Child	"	Maratha village	Taken away from his house in Maratha village by armed Greek Cypriot elements.
353.	Mehmet Kaşif	28	M	Civilian	Electrician	15/ 8/1974	Tokhni village	Taken away from his house in Tokhni village by armed Greek& Greek Cypriot soldiers and civilians.
354.	Münir Kasım	31	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
355.	Yusuf Cuma	26	M	Civilian	Shepherd	"	"	" "
356.	Raşit Davut	45	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
357.	İbrahim Veleddin	25	M	Civilian	Shepherd	"	"	" "
358.	Mustafa Şevket	22	M	Civilian	Shepherd	"	"	" "
359.	Kamuran Kaşif	20	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN		FACTS
						DATE	PLACE	
360.	Hasan Ali	36	M	Civilian	Labourer	15/8/1974	Tokhni village	Taken away from his house in Tokhni village by armed Greek and Greek Cypriot soldiers and civilians.
361.	Hamit Cuma	20	M	Civilian	Shepherd	"	"	" "
362.	Savaş Kaşif	14	M	Civilian	Blacksmith	"	"	" "
363.	Güner Hasan	25	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
364.	Kaşif Ahmet	55	M	Civilian	Farmer	"	"	" "
365.	Osman Ali	31	M	Civilian	Farmer	"	"	" "
366.	Münür Mustafa	20	M	Civilian	Builder	"	"	" "
367.	Cuma Hasan	16	M	Civilian	Mechanic	"	"	" "
368	Mehmet Salih Garip	52	M	Civilian	Rural Constable	"	"	" "
369.	Sadi Kasım	39	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
370.	Omer Emir Ali	22	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
371.	Hüseyin Yusuf	21	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
372.	Emir Ali Bey	24	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN		FACTS
						DATE	PLACE	
373.	Osman Durmuş	16	M	Civilian	Welder	15/8/1974	Tokhni village	Taken away from his house in Tokhni village by armed Greek and Greek Cypriot soldiers and civilians.
374.	Behzat Hüseyin	17	M	Civilian	Builder	"	"	" "
375.	Yusuf Mustafa	17	M	Civilian	Builder	"	"	" "
376.	Osman Cemal	20	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
377.	Tünser Süleyman	24	M	Civilian	Welder	"	"	" "
378.	Erdoğan Hüseyin	27	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
379.	İrfan Mustafa	31	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
380.	Veli Mehmet Ali	43	M	Civilian	Farmer	"	"	" "
381.	Mehmet Ali Mustafa	25	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
382.	Bekir Ahmet	23	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
383.	Ali Riza Ahmet	28	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
384.	Aydın Ahmet	25	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
385.	Ahmet Niyazi	22	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN		FACTS
						DATE	PLACE	
386.	Hüda Velettin	28	M	Civilian	Labourer	15/8/1974	Tokhni village	Taken away from his house in Tokhni village by armed Greek and Greek Cypriot soldiers and civilians.
387.	Mustafa Süleyman	26	M	Civilian	Mechanic	"	"	" "
388.	Enver Kaşif	23	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
389.	Hasan Hamit	48	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
390.	Mutallip Besim	36	M	Civilian	Builder	"	"	" "
391.	Behiç Cemal	29	M	Civilian	Carpenter	"	"	" "
392.	Kubilay İbrahim	25	M	Civilian	Driver	"	"	" "
393.	Hasan Fevzi	25	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
394.	Hüda Mustafa	28	M	Civilian	Builder	"	"	" "
395.	Arif Mustafa	27	M	Civilian	Shepherd	"	"	" "
396.	Hüseyin Salih Kumandan	48	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
397.	Cuma Yusuf	38	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
398.	Ziya İbrahim	30	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN		FACTS
						DATE	PLACE	
399.	Şevket Derviş	55	M	Civilian	Labourer	15/8/1974	Tokhni village	**Taken away from his house in Tokhni village by armed Greek and Greek Cypriot soldiers and civilians.**
400.	Mustafa Mehmet Kani	35	M	Civilian	Coffee-shop keeper	"	"	" "
401.	İzzet Omer Çavuş	75	M	Civilian	Shoe-maker	"	"	" "
402.	Turgut Yusuf	40	M	Civilian	Mechanic	"	"	" "
403.	Ahmet Mustafa	32	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
404.	Şeref Hüseyin	17	M	Civilian	Blacksmith	"	"	" "
405.	Cuma Hamit	40	M	Civilian	Driver	"	"	" "
406.	Süleyman Mehmet Ali	51	M	Civilian	Mukhtar	"	"	" "
407.	Salih Yusuf	30	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
408.	Ertem Bekir	37	M	Civilian	Mechanic	"	"	" "
409.	Durmuş Osman	52	M	Civilian	Farmer	"	"	" "
410.	Derviş Mehmet	35	M	Civilian	Farmer	"	"	" "
411.	Ahmet Hamza	22	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN DATE	LAST SEEN PLACE	FACTS
412.	Yüksel Hamza	20	M	Civilian	Labourer	15/8/1974	Tokhni village	Taken away from his house in Tokhni village by armed Greek and Greek Cypriot soldiers and civilians.
413.	Osman Ali Bey	30	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
414.	Hüseyin Mehmet Raşit	50	M	Civilian	Farmer	"	"	" "
415.	Adem Emir	46	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
416.	Aziz Ahmet	35	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
417.	Mustafa Ali Bey	36	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
418.	Hasan Veleddin	26	M	Civilian	University student	"	"	" "
419.	Kamil Arif Bugafuri	45	M	Civilian	Farmer	"	"	" "
420.	Niyazi Musa	31	M	Civilian	Farmer	"	"	" "
421.	Turgut Hüseyin Piskobulu	39	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	Zyyi village	Taken away from his house in Zyyi village by armed Greek and Greek Cypriot soldiers and civilians.
422.	Ahmet Mustafa	25	M	Civilian	Coffee-shop keeper	"	"	" "

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN DATE	 PLACE	FACTS
423.	Taner Hüseyin	27	M	Civilian	Labourer	15/8/1974	Zyyi village	Taken away from his house in Zyyi village by armed Greek and Greek Cypriot soldiers and civilians.
424.	Turgut Ahmet	31	M	Civilian	Mechanic	"	"	" "
425.	Muharrem Ekrem	22	M	Civilian	Tailor	"	"	" "
426.	Hasan Ahmet Küçük	24	M	Civilian	Fisherman	"	"	" "
427.	Ekrem Ahmet Küçük	30	M	Civilian	Shepherd	"	"	" "
428.	Erol Hüseyin	21	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
429.	Erdoğan Hüseyin Piskobulu	25	M	Civilian	Mechanic	"	"	" "
430.	Arif Ahmet	26	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
431.	Hüseyin Ahmet	27	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
432.	Mehmet Hüseyin	22	M	Civilian	University student	"	"	" "
433.	Hasan Hüseyin Piskobulu	27	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
434.	Omer Ahmet İzzet	25	M	Civilian	Fisherman	"	"	" "

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN		FACTS
						DATE	PLACE	
435.	Süleyman Hüseyin	70	M	Civilian	Pensioner	14/8/1974	Zyyi-Maroni fields	Taken away from his house to the fields between Zyyi and Maroni villages by armed Greek Cypriot elements
436.	Enver Ali	43	M	Civilian	Shepherd	"	Mari fields	Taken away from the fields by armed Greek Cypriot elements whilst grazing his flock
437.	Kadir Kerim Mehmet	80	M	Civilian	Shepherd	22/7/1974	Petrophani village	Taken away from his house in Petrophani village by armed Greek Cypriot elements
438.	İsmail Ali	65	M	Civilian	Farmer	"	"	" "
439.	Hasan Kerim Mehmet	70	M	Civilian	Farmer	"	"	" "
440.	Hasan Veli	70	M	Civilian	Farmer	"	"	" "
441.	Şerif Hasan Veli	70	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	Taken away from her house in Petrophani village by armed Greek Cypriot elements
442.	Pembe Veli Halil	75	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
443.	Mülayim Kamil	19	M	Civilian	Mason	15/8/1974	Limassol	Abducted while walking in the street within the town of Limassol by armed Greek Cypriot elements
444.	Hüseyin Cemal	17	M	Civilian	Mason	"	"	" "

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN		FACTS
						DATE	PLACE	
445.	Ozkan Abdurrahman	25	M	Civilian	Mason	20/7/1974	Famagusta	He went missing during the Greek Cypriot armed attacks on the Turkish quarter of Famagusta Town
446.	Yusuf Besim Ahçı	60	M	Civilian	Labourer	21/7/1974	"	" "
447.	Salim Hasan Mikro	20	M	Civilian	Shepherd	20/7/1974	Peristerona fields	Abducted by armed Greek Cypriot elements whilst grazing his flock in the fields of Peristerona village
448.	İlkay Yusuf	24	F	Civilian	Housewife	20/7/1974	Peristerona village	She was shot and wounded by armed Greek Cypriots and then taken away by them
449.	Ahmet Cemal	48	M	Civilian	Mechanic	10/8/1974	Episkopi village	Abducted from his house by armed Greek Cypriots on the pretext that he will be taken to Greek Police Station.
450.	Hüseyin Mustafa Arap	59	M	Civilian	Shepherd	23/7/1974	Akdeniz fields	Abducted by armed Greek Cypriot elements whilst grazing his flock.
451.	Cemal Mehmet Salih	56	M	Civilian	Farmer	22/7/1974	Serdarlı village	Abducted by armed Greek and Greek Cypriot soldiers from the fields.
452.	Mustafa Hasan	19	M	Civilian (Volunteer fighter)	Labourer	20/7/1974	St.Hilarion area	Abducted by armed Greek and Greek Cypriot soldiers during their attacks on St. Hilarion.

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN		FACTS
						DATE	PLACE	
453.	Olgun Ali Emir	18	M	Civilian	Student	22/7/1974	Taşpınar village	He was shot and wounded by armed Greek Cypriots and then taken away by them.
454.	İsmail Bekir	28	M	Civilian	Welder	20/7/1974	St.Hilarion area	Abducted by armed Greek and Greek Cypriot soldiers during their attacks on St. Hilarion area.
455.	Hasan Kara Mustafa	74	M	Civilian	Pensioner	22/7/1974	Topcuköy fields	Abducted by armed Greek Cypriot elements from the fields of Topcuköy village.
456.	Halil Hüseyin Kemaneci	16	M	Civilian	Student	23/7/1974	Kaleburnu fields	Abducted by armed Greek Cypriot elements during their attacks.
457.	Mustafa Salim	27	M	Civilian (Volunteer Fighter)	Labourer	20/7/1974	St.Hilarion area	Abducted by armed Greek and Greek Cypriot soldiers during their attacks on St. Hilarion area.
458.	Süleyman Ahmet	23	M	Civilian (Volunteer Fighter)	Builder	"	"	" "
459.	Necati Hasan	35	M	"	Plumber	"	"	" "

APPENDIX 9

PERISHING CYPRUS

(By Mehmet Yasin)

(Published in the Turkish Cypriot Weekly Magazine OLAY, in four installments starting on April 26, 1982.)

1ST INSTALLMENT

Cyprus is being estranged from itself; the historic, environmental, communal, cultural structure is being spoiled.

The vacant untended archaeological masterpieces are being pillaged.

INTRODUCTION

From the moment mankind first touched this land and since the remote ages when man toiled to rejuvenate it from as far back as 7000 B.C., this country began to inscribe its name in history: CYPRUS.

This is the island of Cyprus which we now see, recognize and know. Orange groves, wheat fields, vineyards, sandstone buildings, Gothic-arched buildings, mosques, churches, bay-windowed houses, gardens of jasmine, cement houses with geraniums and flowers; Venetian, Ottoman, and British coats of arms along the streets; the mufflons, donkeys and recently speeding cars; old people who display olives; halloumi at the fairs and Friday markets; children who sell jasmine; mines and later factories; war and death all over again, living again, and finally the sandbags at the borders, the listening stations of the British, radars, sieges:

While entering the 21st century we are also living through the remote, very remote centuries. yet we do not realize this.

Hittites, Egyptians, Arcadians, Dorians, Persians, Phoenecians, Assyrians, Arabs came and went through this island. This island became the den of pirates and market of negroes. It experienced the glories of Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods. There were times when its title deeds were issued to the Lusinians, Venetians, Ottomans and British.

And thus Cyprus became CYPRUS. While all these "travellers" were building their castles, weren't they actually building CYPRUS and US? However we, for some time now, are trying to destroy with our hands our history, culture and, in the last analysis, ourselves. We have abandoned our historical masterpieces—with their Greek columns, Gothic ornaments, yellow-stoned arches and Seljukian domes—to destruction and pillage.

A melancholy promenade in Kyrenia

Henceforth walking in the streets makes you melancholy. You see that Cyprus is becoming estranged from itself and you feel that with every psssing day you have lost a part of yourself.

Let's say that you are in Kyrenia. You sit at the harbour while dark-blue waves crush on the rocks. You will feel that even the fragrance of the sea is not the old fragrance. You want to listen to the sound of Kyrenia. Even if you walk past the lighthouse and reach the tip of the harbour you won't be able to hear the sound of the waves. The sound of rock and Arabesque music will fill your ears. You will say to yourself "Kyrenia is no longer Kyrenia". Lahmajun vendors, blanket vendors, pyrex vendors and huge ships have taken away Kyrenia. Turn and look at the harbour; what will you see?

You will see that houses built of yellow stone are spoiled; you will see that artificial concrete balconies are added to them and crude suffocating advertisement panels fill every corner. . . .

You walk further. You will be caught in the stream of "tourists" who run here and there to buy "European goods"; you pass in front of centuries old buildings in which videos and blue jeans are sold. Apartment blocks, built without any planning, and ugly shops pop up in front of you. Ah! Our forefathers' poor little Kyrenia! The forgotten songs of the Knights Templar! The squeezed to death bitter lemons of Lawrence Durell!

Here you can completely get confused, because you will see that an asphalt road passes across the middle of the historic Turkish cemetery. The walls of the cemetery are pulled down, and shanties have sprung up like mushrooms. You will ask yourself; "How have these Gece-kondu (shanty-type) shops sprung up?" Someone who knows will tell you that a few years ago municipality elections were held in Kyrenia and that Evkaf wanted to build shops here with the permission of the Kyrenia municipality. You feel your heart has collapsed. You have become enraged. You want to run away, and you drive your car toward the East. There you will see small churches which have suffered the fate of the Armenian Monastery in Halevga and of other churches. You will ask: Well, where is that old Omer Tekke? It used to stand on the sea like a water-lily before 1974. Now it has become a withered flower with its crude wall plasters, with its destroyed marble fountain abandoned to nature's destructive forces. Do not ask any questions about the condition of the first century city of Lamboussa, which is now a military zone.

Be careful; do not expose the grief of your heart to the Kyrenians, because they will tell you even worse things. They will explain how Kyrenia Castle was robbed. Here is the statement sent by the court looking into the case to the previous director of the museum in connection with this robbery.

While he was the responsible official at the Antiquities and Museum Department between September 1974 and May 30, 1981, he stole 225 icons worth T.L. 18,950,625. He forged a document, kept no records, played with figures, and produced a false document.

Let's continue discussing the icon smuggling. From various parts of Cyprus icons were collected from churches and museums. They were all tucked into 4 huge suitcases. Some of them were sawn into 4 pieces each and were discovered while they were being smuggled out of Ankara airport. Hundreds of icons worth tens of thousands of TL have been stolen and smuggled out. Only a fraction of these were recovered. Are the icons the only things stolen? Actually, hasn't the whole of Kyrenia been stolen?

If you sit at a coffee shop you will observe that the Limassolites in Kyrenia constantly express their longing for Limassol. But, what will you say when you see that even the Kyrenians long for Kyrenia . . . I think this is the most agonizing longing.

There was a Nicosia in the past

There was a Nicosia in the past. During Bairams you could see all the colours of the world and hear the joyful cries of children. In those days people used to speak in five languages in the streets. In those days the concrete buildings, multistoreyed houses and disorganised shops did not suffocate you; they did not suffocate the great Han, the mosques and mausoleums. In those days neither the city walls nor the churches nor the mosques were empty as they are now-a-days. In those days when the sun rose the yellow-coloured houses shone like gold. There were rows of bay-windowed houses along the streets. In those days the mosques and tekkes were kept in good condition; water ran from the Ottoman fountains in the streets.

You were too young to see those days; and anyway no one wants to go that far back in history. But our generation hardly saw Nicosia when it was not divided into two by barricades.

There was a Nicosia in the old days.

The people call today's half and abandoned city also Nicosia. You pass every day through disorganised unattended streets and through spoiled historical sites and yet you call it "Nicosia". What is worse, you utter the word with indifference.

There was a Nicosia in the old days. It was encircled on four sides by Medieval walls.

Those walls, though not in their former state, still stand but . . .

But, now grass and houses have covered up the walls. Eucalyptus trees have grown amongst the falling stones. Although we need an Archaeological Museum it does not exist. A National Struggle Museum is built instead, and it is built in such a way as to intentionally destroy the channels of the walls. Some parts of the walls have turned into mere heaps of gravel. In the earth-cleaning work being done around the Presidential Palace the stones of the walls are being cut into pieces and are being destroyed.

Well, what about the Great Han (Inn)? In the tourist pamphlets long articles are published explaining how important a historic building it is; yet in reality they have put a huge padlock on its falling doors. Sometimes it is turned into a parking place or into a table or chair depot. Grass, the height of a man, has taken root inside the Han, but no one cares to clear it.

Haydar Pasha Mosque is in a worse condition. . . . You too have seen that it was reduced to ruins. There are trees which have grown into its walls and have made them crack; you have also seen the nests of the bats. There, on the Gothic ornamentation a bicycle tire remains hanging for years. You come and go and see that every day a stone, put there in the 19th century, has fallen to the ground. But that bicycle tire never falls; it remains hanging there.

You will see that Zehire Fountain has been filled with cement. You will see that the Kurt Baba turbe (mausoleum) has been turned into a discarded timber depot and advertisement panels have covered its walls. But no official sees these things. What's more, the Evkaf Administration has turned the burial chambers in the mausoleums into sandwich, beer, and soft-drinks kiosks! It has pulled down the Yeni Mosque minaret and "rebuilt" it; it "has re-decorated" the Turunclu Mosque with marble.

Even Morphou has not escaped this hysteric obliteration called "modernization". A concrete mosque has been erected just in front of the Byzantine Church of St. Mamas which is adorned with Gothic arches.

Meanwhile, an antique dealer who forges documents sits at the chair of the Morphou Municipality. The antique sites have fallen into oblivion; all the historical sites around Nicosia too have fallen into oblivion.

There is no Sarayonu, Kyrenia door, or Arasta market any more. Fountains, turbes, mosques are no more. What has remained of Nicosia?

Poor Desdemona at Othello Tower

Poor Desdemona at Othello Tower, with milky white face and blonde silky hair falling about her shoulders, used to cry while gazing into the darkness. She is still there and she is still crying. She cries whenever she looks at the vanishing walls of Famagusta, at those glorious historic buildings, monuments and Venetian doors. Desdemona is still there and cries. She looks at the cathedrals, the turbes, St. Paul's Church and St. Peter's Church, which is also known as Sinan Pasha Mosque or now as the "People's Club". She looks at the historic buildings which are either pulled down or altered and turned into shops and bars, and at the historic baths now turned into sports shops and at the Ottoman fountains which are hidden by huge barrels around them; she looks at them and cries.

You suddenly feel that the city is as silent as though a neutron bomb has been dropped on it. You feel the desolation of Varosha. How could the sea still rush towards these heaps of concrete? Years ago the area was full of groves and birds sang. Is Desdemona crying for that forgotten city in the old part of Famagusta where concrete houses are erected after pulling down those historic sites which told the history of Cyprus?

Henceforth neither Desdemona nor you should cry. Because henceforth Famagusta (Magosa) will only exist in history. They say that a city plan is being prepared for Famagusta (Magosa)! It is said that the competent ministerial authorities and the Famagusta municipality are working on such a plan. It is even said that the opinion of experts on the historic sites is also taken into account. But it now transpires that 60 percent of the city within the walls is Greek Cypriot property. And, hence, they say, it cannot be included in the city plan. At a meeting held a few months ago they suddenly realized that the implementation of such a plan requires large sums of money and the municipality cannot meet this. They say that if the government finds money it will help. Besides, they now add, this plan must first be legalized.

While on the one hand a city plan is being prepared, on the other hand multistoryed blocs are built within the walls contrary to regulations. While gardens are cultivated in harmony with the historic surroundings, shanty shops and taxi offices are built near the walls.

Oh! Desdemona's sorrowful Famagusta! They are dyeing your golden hair gray. . . . As though lamenting Desdemona with her tearful eyes is questioning those destructive people and everyone of us:

Haven't you heard that the 2,000-year-old Christian church in Cyprus, St. Barnabas' Church, has been robbed? Haven't you heard that 35 icons were stolen, that 11 of them were found in Kythrea, that 11 were retrieved at Ankara airport while being smuggled out, and that the rest are lost?

Haven't you heard what's happening in Varosha? Haven't you heard that figurines belonging to the Catholic period and kept in the Archaeological Museum have been stolen and smuggled to London?

What about the icons in the other churches; the mosaics, the private collections, the illegal digs? Haven't you heard of these?

Well haven't you heard the story of the small Venetian lion either? They took the small lion away from its mother's side and then sent it to London. But they say no, it is not true; it shared the fate of many other historic masterpieces during the war, that is, it was destroyed. Others claim that it is buried somewhere nearby in a neglected manner. Others say yes, it was smuggled out, but later it was brought back. No, they will say, such a lion has never existed. Actually it was that piece of stone . . .

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN		FACTS
						DATE	PLACE	
460.	Bekir Mustafa	29	M	Civilian	Builder	22/7/1974	Topcuköy	Abducted by armed Greek Cypriot elements during their attacks.
461.	Mahmut Mehmet Ali	36	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
462.	Mehmet Emin Hüseyin	62	M	Civilian	Rural Constable	"	"	" "
463.	Kamil Ahmet	23	M	Civilian	Shepherd	"	"	" "
464.	İrfan Raif	19	M	Civilian	Labourer	21/7/1974	Gaziveren	He was shot and wounded by Greek Cypriot gunfire and then taken away by armed Greek Cypriots.
465.	Tahir Mehmet	60	M	Civilian	Labourer	14/8/1974	Neokhorio village	Abducted by armed Greek Cypriot elements.
466.	Nazife Hasan	62	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	" "
467.	İsmayıl Ahmet	55	M	Civilian	Shepherd	22/7/1974	Taşpınar village	Abducted by armed Greek Cypriot elements during their attacks.
468.	Fatma Ahmet Mulla Mehmet	75	F	Civilian	Housewife	24/7/1974	Kuruova	Abducted by armed Greek Cypriot elements from her house in the village
469.	Lütfiye Ahmet	55	F	Civilian	Housewife	20/7/1974	Ay. Ermolaos	" "

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN		FACTS
						DATE	PLACE	
470.	Mehmet Salih Hüseyin	58	M	Civilian	Labourer	20/7/1974	Gönyeli fields	Abducted by armed Greek Cypriot elements during their attacks.
471.	Mehmet Hasan	21	M	Civilian	Farmer	6/8/1974	Arpalık	Abducted from his house by armed Greek Cypriots.
472.	Mustafa Hüseyin	52	M	Civilian	Farmer	23/7/1974	Akdeniz	Abducted by armed Greek Cypriots during their attacks.
473.	Erdoğan Mustafa	29	M	Civilian	Labourer	22/7/1974	"	Abducted by armed Greek Cypriot elements from his house.
474.	Fikret Kalyoncu	29	M	Civilian	Farmer	23/7/1974	"	" "
475.	Kemal İsmail	39	M	Civilian	Labourer	22/7/1974	Polis	Abducted by armed Greek Cypriot elements from his house in the village.
476.	Mehmet Abdurrahman Çatallo	47	M	Civilian	"	"	"	" "
477.	Ayşe Ramadan	25	F	Civilian	Housewife	"	"	Abducted by armed Greek Cypriot elements from the school in the village.
478.	Hüseyin Derviş	38	M	Civilian	Butcher	14/8/1974	Kurtuluş	Abducted by armed Greek Cypriot elements from his house in the village.
479.	Cumali Mustafa	58	M	Civilian	Farmer	"	"	" "

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN		FACTS
						DATE	PLACE	
480.	Ahmet Behzat	36	M	Civilian	Labourer	20/7/1974	Lefke	Abducted by armed Greek Cypriot soldiers during their attacks on Lefke town.
481.	Mehmet Hüseyin	40	M	Civilian	Labourer	22/7/1974	Köprü	Abducted by armed Greek Cypriots during their attacks on the village.
482.	Osman Mehmet Hüdaverdi	25	M	Civilian	Farmer	20/7/1974	Alaminos	" "
483.	Mehmet Arif Tabakka	80	M	Civilian	Pensioner	"	"	" "
484.	Zafer Hasan	20	M	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
485.	Ali Hasan Civişilli	24	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
486.	Omer Ali	25	M	Civilian	Student	"	"	" "
487.	Ali Bodo	55	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
488.	Mehmet Ali Bodo	26	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
489.	Hasan Dildar	45	M	Civilian	Gardener	"	"	" "
490.	Ahmet Hacı Halil	24	M	Civilian	Shepherd	"	"	" "
491.	Hüseyin Dildar	30	M	Civilian	Builder	"	"	" "
492.	Hasan Ali	35	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "

No	NAME	AGE	SEX	STATUS	OCCUPATION	LAST SEEN		FACTS
						DATE	PLACE	
493.	Mustafa Ali Nazif	25	M	Civilian	Labourer	20/7/1974	Alaminos	Abducted by armed Greek Cypriots during their attacks on the village
494.	Tahir Osman	42	M	Civilian	British Base Employee	"	"	" "
495.	Güney Hüseyin	22	M	Civilian	Labourer	"	"	" "
496.	Hasan Mustafa Tüccar	61	M	Civilian	Gardener	2/8/1974	"	Abducted by armed Greek Cypriots from his garden in the village.
497.	Hasan Nahit	18	M	Civilian	Student	15/8/1974	Chiflikler area-Limassol	Abducted from his home by armed Greek Cypriot Policemen and soldiers.
498.	Erdoğan Enver	26	M	Civilian	Lathe worker	"	"	" "
499.	Nahit Salih	41	M	Civilian	Welder	"	"	" "
500.	Musa Selim	26	M	Civilian	Welder	"	"	" "
501.	Unal Adil	27	M	Civilian	Leather worker	14/8/1974	"	" "
502.	Faruk Şükrü	28	M	Civilian	Builder	15/8/1974	"	" "
503.	Kemal Ahmet	51	M	Civilian	Crane operator	"	"	" "

Note:

1. The number of Turkish Cypriot missing is 803. However, following a decision at the Committee on Missing Persons to that effect, all the families concerned have been asked to confirm that they still wished their missing members to be investigated. The families of only 503 missing persons have given the necessary confirmation.

2. Only 3 (0.6%) out of 503 Turkish Cypriot missing persons are military personnel. All the others are ordinary civilians, men, women and children.

Why have they stopped the digs started before 1974 at the city of Gastria, which belongs to the geometric age?

Do you know what has happened since then? The government has issued permits to certain businessmen from Turkey to set up a gypsum factory there. The tombs were destroyed and plundered of their antiquities. What business did they have there? Were they engaged in the gypsum trade or in the antiquities trade? Have you ever heard of these things?

How could Desdemona not help crying? Poor Desdemona of Othello Tower.

An archaeologist describes Famagusta

Let Archaeologist Dr. Turhan Kamil of Famagusta, who completed his archaeological studies in London, describe Famagusta to you. Let him speak about this living historical city, about the cathedrals, the castles and the old days . . .

"From the viewpoint of historical monuments Famagusta is an extraordinary city. There is no other city in Cyprus which is surrounded by Medieval walls and which has so many historical sites. Such a place is a rarity in the whole of Europe and in the Mediterranean. At the moment there are many interesting historical monuments to see. It is also known that there are many antiques which could be unearthed by short-term archaeological digs. Beneath Famagusta there are many underground roads and cisterns belonging to the Lusignan and Venetian periods. They almost cover the whole city. The reason for their construction is not yet known because no research has been conducted.

"All of us want to preserve Famagusta which is a city with rare historical qualities. But I see that no serious work is done in this direction. There are certain efforts. But because these are not substantial the problems are not being solved. To begin with, even the list of historical buildings in Famagusta is not completed. Because there are too many historical buildings the city has an archaeological atmosphere and this atmosphere must be preserved. On this issue nothing has been done so far. No initiatives have been taken to protect this historic atmosphere.

"The buildings erected now-a-days are destroying the environment. The buildings which suit the environment and which must be restored instead of being demolished, are turned into ruins. These buildings are being demolished and ugly modern buildings are raised in their places; or if restoration is made it does not blend with the environment. For example, if you look, at the Namik Kemal bust you see ugly commercial advertisements placed just behind the bust. It is not difficult to remove these advertisements. When you mention such things to the authorities they say that financial difficulties are the major impediment. Yes, the problems we spoke of, need large financial resources. But, if we collect ourselves a bit and act responsibly, we could overcome many of the problems and difficulties. "The saddest example of the destruction of the environment is again Namik Kemal square. There were old coffee shops there. On hot days and nights people used to go there and sit. Now there is not even a single place to sit there. The old frescoed buildings have all been demolished and the Cooperative Central Bank in their place. There was a very interesting historical building there before.

"There are three organisations responsible for the protection of historical monuments in Famagusta". The most important of these is the Department of Antiquities and Museums; the second is the Famagusta Municipality and the third is Evkaf. Evkaf now owns many historical buildings, but because it is interested in commercial exploitation only, it does not do any maintenance at all.

"There are still archaeological sites in Famagusta which have not been ascertained yet. The buildings we see are monuments of the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries. The Lala Mustafa Pasha Mosque was built during the Lusignan period. It is in the French Gothic style. The atmosphere of this cathedral is completely different from other Gothic churches in Europe. The stone used shines like gold in the sun. There are many rare monuments in Famagusta. For example the large tree in front of the mosque. I believe it was planted when the cathedral was built. That is, it dates from the 13th century. We can see a unique masterpiece here. You can see the tree, a product of nature, and the building, the creation of man.

"I do not consider the work done by the Antiquities Department satisfactory in regard to the antiquities. Both Salamis and Engomi are completely abandoned. In my latest research I noticed that the wire fencing Salamis had, had been stolen. No serious work is being done in Engomi. In addition, we have now learned that illegal digs are being made in some villages in the Famagusta region. During my research from 1977 to 1978 at Ovgoros I saw great destruction. Now I see that the illegal digs have increased in number. Antique trading, which encourages illegal digs, is still permitted in the TFSC. I think antique trading is very wrong.

"The brochures published on antiques give wrong chronological tables. The things said in them are either incomplete or false. Sometimes I even see nonsensical things in them. I have noticed that completely wrong information is published in them. There are many mistakes. There are innumerable antiques in Famagusta but unfortunately there is not a museum to exhibit them to the people.

"Before, an attempt was made to prohibit new building construction within the walls to protect Famagusta's historic atmosphere. Such a move cannot bring long-term solution. Instead, limits should be put to the construction of new buildings. A balance should be established by state intervention. For example, in Britain the state helps in the restoration of historic buildings which are regarded as useful. This is not a burden but a long-term investment for the state. The care, maintenance and reparation of historic buildings must be taken seriously. At the moment they are completely neglected. Some of them are used irresponsibly and are being destroyed. An end must be put to this".

2ND INSTALLMENT, OLAY (3.5.82)

Antiques smuggling—museum robberies—destruction—illegal digs

Last week we toured together our ancient cities and passed in front of historic sites, turbes, mosques and houses built of yellow stone. Now let's go further back in history, to the ages of antiquity. You will hear how our historic heritage, laden with the weight of the history of the ages is being destroyed.

Notes from perishing Cyprus

In this issue and in the next issues we will continue to narrate how the historic masterpieces were stolen by antique dealers, and will inform you about the illegal digs, museum robberies and antique smuggling. Then we will bring to your attention the churches, the valuable icons, the mosaics and the candelabra which have been stolen, the churches which have been turned into stables. The authorities claim that work is going on to protect the churches and to open an icon museum in Morphou. This is still unseen "work" is not aimed at protecting the historical-cultural value of the churches. On the contrary, as stated by the Evkaf Administration and the Antiquities Department, this effort will be exerted "in order to forestall the use of the churches as a means of propaganda which could put the Turkish Government in a difficult position at international fora". Is it not out of such a consideration that St. Mama's Church has not been turned into an archives depot as Denktash wanted to do some time ago?

Has any historic masterpiece remained which has not been destroyed? Here, the Engomi-Alasya Cities, the digs of which had started before 1974; there destruction in the area of Salamis and Ovgoros, and there, the electricity centrals erected on the historical wealth lying in the ground.

Near Morphou there is an archaeological site, TOUMBA TOU SKOUROY, which was being unearthed by the American archaeologist Mrs. Emily before 1974. Mrs. Emily says that a negro king used to live in this settlement which dates back to 1600-1900 B.C. "Skouros" means dark skinned in the Greek language. In the tombs many children's bones and huge jars were found. These jars, known as pithos, were dug up intact but during the war they disappeared. Two of the pithos are no longer there; one of them, reconstructed from fragments, is in the "Morphou Museum of Nature and Archaeology".

A very important ancient site is the LAMBOUSA ruins near Lapithos. The city came under attack many times and has been rebuilt. In A.D. 700 the Arabs razed the city, but it was rebuilt in the 8th century, and during the Middle Ages it regained its former position. It lived throughout the highest cultural periods of Rome and Byzantium. In 1222 it was again subjugated. Lambousa's story continues thus.

You will see chambers cut out of the rocks, lighthouses, the remains of baths, mosaic lay-outs and the military camps set up on the ruins both before and after 1974. . . . Today Lambousa is a military zone closed to tourists. Here there are many important churches and the mythological Akhiropietos Monastery. Now you cannot see it because it is being used as a military warehouse. The icons stolen from Lambousa were retrieved while being smuggled out of Ankara airport.

There is also VOUNI PALACE 5 miles to the west of Soli. The Vouni Kingdom, established in 4 phases during 400-600 B.C., was unearthed during the 1928-29 digs made by the Swedish. It is considered the first typical social organisation in Cyprus. Vouni has a long history of enchanting glory and pain as it passed through the period of Cypriot kings, Persians and Hellenistic civilisations. Today both Vouni Palace and the archaeological site are military zones. Whenever there is no objection to entering the area, tourists can go there after getting permission from the police at Karavostasi. Sometimes the area is closed to visitors and no maintenance is done. The basins and toilets built for the tourists before 1974 have been stolen and the protective walls pulled down.

How many of us are aware of our centuries-old cultural heritage? How many of us know Cyprus? How should we know! Our history, our culture was never taught to us; the related organisations did not publish even a single Turkish book on our historical wealth. The brochures they published repudiate our country's historical and cultural past; they are filled with inconsistent information. Sometimes they keep silent, on other occasions they tell lies. They did not teach us our history. To those who asked questions they replied by quoting from "Historic Cyprus" written by Rupert Gunnis who was the director of the museums during British colonial rule, and from other foreign sources.

Let's continue narrating the story of the ancients. Let's go to the ancient city of GASTRIA which was pillaged even before it was fully excavated.

The present story of an ancient city

Gastria is an ancient city established in the immediate northern vicinity of Boghazi in Famagusta Bay. It is believed that Gastria was one of the important settlements of the early centuries. Excavations have shown that it was a kingdom as powerful as that of Salamis if not larger and more ancient. The archaeologists who made the digs say that there was a social organisation in Gastria reflecting the characteristics of the civilisations belonging to the Geometric age.

A book published by the Greek Cypriots after 1974 says the following about Gastria:

"This important archaeological site, which was excavated before 1974, was destroyed after the area came under Turkish occupation; the relics were unearthed and smuggled to Turkey."

Two years ago the (TFSC) government permitted the settling up of a cement-gypsum factory over the half-unearthed city of Gastria. Huge bulldozers came and dug up and smashed the relics and the tombs. The antique smugglers plundered the excavated sites of the relics found there. They even went off with the antiques which came out of the holes opened by bulldozers.

Section (d) of the cultural policy published in the 10th issue of the Official Gazette on 14 February 1979 says the following: "Ways will be sought to protect and maintain the historic monuments, artistic masterpieces and other cultural relics, and to prevent their destruction and smuggling out of the country".

However, you will see that these beautiful words remained on paper only. There was a long debate concerning the establishment of a cement factory in Gastria. The newspapers wrote that the mouthpiece and partners of the Two Turkish Republic citizens, Fevzi Akkaya and Sezai Turkes, who own the cement factory, are some NUP people. The Antiquities Department and the Supreme Monuments Committee opposed the destruction of Gastria. But, as was the case in the pulling down of the historic building of the Turkish Bank, the Council of Ministers reiterated their previous decision. "Gastria will be destroyed", it said.

"Law No. 35/1975 on Antique Masterpieces", which has many gaps and deficiencies and which is not strictly implemented anyway, says that the antique masterpieces can be destroyed with the permission of the government: (Article 5) "It is prohibited to demolish or alter without the permission of the Ministry the historic and natural monuments which come under the provisions of this law, or to repair or erect buildings or installations on around the sites, to bore holes, to make digs, to turn them into gypsum or tile mixtures, to search for treasures there, to use the historic sites for animal husbandry or agricultural purposes, to remove articles which could cause their collapse, to occupy or use them as dwelling places, or to use them for services which could damage them".

Though article 10 says "that decisions concerning the construction of buildings or installations within the boundaries of the historic sites are to be taken by the commission set up by the Ministry", the Government has the right to change the decisions of the Supreme Monuments Committee; that is, it holds that the demolition of historic sites is its own "legal right".

Is there any other country where such a right is given to a government or to any organisation? Is not such a right contrary to the spirit of the constitution? Using this law, the Government, if it so desires, could demolish Kyrenia Castle or the Great Han and in its stead could build shops for pyrex-sellers! If they want to, they can set up cement factories at Salamis, Kantaras. No one can oppose them! No organisation, individual or authority has the right to demolish the historic sites in a country and thus deprive that country, future generations and, in the final analysis, humanity itself of culture and history.

The cement factory at Gastria started production 2 months ago and was being built for the last 2 years. For 2 years continuously the bulldozers, trucks and ships were coming and going, timber and iron was brought, and antiquities were being smuggled out.

No one came to know this ancient city which was pillaged before even being discovered. Now, looking at Gastria you can see history shattered. As though Gastria, with its past and present, tells us our country's sad facts, unchanging since the remote ages. Who knows, the story of the people who used to live there thousands of years ago may have been cut short like the present day story of Gastria.

The illegal digs in Famagusta

Illegal digs are being made in all districts. For example, in Kyrenia, in Ayios Epiktitos, in Nicosia, and in the hills beyond Krini. But, Famagusta is the most suitable for illegal digs. Illegal digs virtually cover the whole district. In this district the first settlements were established and since ancient times they had maintained their historical importance.

Illegal digs in the Karpass start from the cliff in the east, from the small islets in the sea, and from the caves of Galinoporni, and extend to the northwest of the Karpass, to Eptakomi, Ovgoros, Galatia and Ardhana.

This strip extending towards the west, is extremely rich in antiquities. There are tombs cut out of the rocks since the 4th century B.C. Similar tombs are also found in the area of Engomi.

Let's continue our trip towards the northwest of the Karpass, keeping to the coastal strip known as "Kuchuk Erenkoy quarter" between Kaloghrea and Akanthu. In this neglected corner, foreigners have made illegal digs for many years. They have opened the tombs and taken away the antique wealth.

Those British families who were looking after the antiques still have lands and houses in this area. Another area where illegal digs abound is that of Ayios Sergios, Engomi and Alasya. Along the road leading from Ayios Sergios to St. Barnabas Church there are not only tombs of kings but also tombs of the type mentioned above. But, sadly, these tombs, which were protected before 1974, are now looted and robbed. Now they are the graves of dead animals. This illegal dig zone of which we spoke is as large as the area covering the north and southwest of Salamis. Yet another illegal dig area is around the ancient city of Gastria.

When illegal digs are that widespread, you will be shocked to hear officials claiming that "no incidents have occurred". You will be shocked to hear such things from the Antiquities Department or from other officials. The Antiquities Department and other officials, just like you, hear about these illegal digs from here and there! They have no more information than you! However, even if they do hear something they cannot do anything. As in other areas, in Famagusta too, the Antiquities Department has not a single vehicle! Besides, the mukhtars, municipalities and police do not give much importance to the issue. Sometimes information arrives about illegal digs but by the time the officials go there everything is gone. For example, last year, while three students were engaged in an illegal dig, the tomb collapsed and one of them was killed. The Antiquities Department arrived at the scene when the body of the youth was being taken away, and that by pure coincidence!

Behind the illegal digs are the antique traders. They have a contactman in every region and they have "men" who make illegal digs for them. They buy what these diggers find. They are very cautious as regards to those whom they do not recognize.

They have established relations at the lower level with "men" who always get the blame if they are "discovered", and at the highest level with "distinguished" people who are never seen. The robbery of the icons from the churches and the robbery of the coin, stamp, and antique collections from Varosha and other places is being carried out in this way. The antique traders use their "men" to make digs, while they "put on a secure basis" their relations with "distinguished" people, with special collectors, and with foreigners. Thus, they rob and pillage; they smuggle and walk around as though nothing has happened. Even in the worst situation they "get away with it". Law No. 35/1975 is implemented only "in the case of legal destruction of antiquities". (In our next articles we will return to the issue of the antique trade.)

Icon robbery and antique smuggling

The icon robbery and antique smuggling which has been going on for years, was proved beyond doubt by the discovery of 158 antiques in Ankara airport. This incident involving smuggled antiques amounting to tens of millions of Turkish Lira showed the extent of the antique pillage.

On march 16, 1981 icons placed in 3 chests and labelled "personal property" were being smuggled out to Germany through Tymbou and Ankara airport. With this incident coming to light, it was also discovered that antiques were smuggled out to the same address under the label "personal property". Police knew this address and it was disclosed to the public through the newspapers. Yet, so far, the question as to who was residing at this address in Germany and with whom this man had relations, has remained unanswered.

The "personal property" in the chests was dispatched by Mehmet Ali Ahmet. When this was known rumours began to circulate that Mehmet Ali Ahmet could be the culprit. But there was no sufficient evidence regarding this issue. Mehmet Ali Ahmet was allegedly arrested by soldiers while he was digging in Ayios Amvrosios churchyard and was detained for a while. When the antiques were handed over to the authorities in Cyprus on May 29, 1981, it was found that the antiques listed in the Kyrenia Castle and St. Barnabas inventories were also amongst them. Following investigations by the comptroller general and the Security and the Antiquities Department, it was found that 225 icons, which were brought to Kyrenia Castle from Lambousa, the Metropolis of Morphou, and Larnaca Tis Lapithou, were missing. Following this, the Antiquities Department set up a commission which prepared a 40-page report explaining in detail from where and how the icons and antiques were smuggled. The director of the Kyrenia branch of the Antiquities Department of the Museum, Mehmet Rasih Savarona, was removed from his post. Last week "criminal court proceedings" started in Kyrenia Castle and Mehmet Rasih Savarona was brought before the court.

How the icon robbery was done?

1. The robbery of St. Barnabas Monastery.—Together with the small and very valuable icons found on the iconostasis, a total of 35 icons were stolen from St. Barnabas Monastery. The empty spaces were filled up by valuable large icons after they were sawn into 4 to 6 pieces. What is interesting is that this robbery took place while the night-watchman was in the monastery. The watchman pointed to the broken windows and claimed that the thieves might have entered the church from there and that he had heard no sound. Yet, it is almost impossible for a man to jump from these windows which are 20 metres high. In the monastery, where even the slightest sound creates echoes, it is almost virtually impossible not to hear sound when such a robbery occurs. Eleven of the icons stolen from St. Barnabas Church were found in an abandoned house in Kythrea, and 11 more were found amongst the antiques which were smuggled through Ankara airport to Germany. The others are still missing or were sold by the smuggler's partners in Germany.

2. The icons and antiques from Morphou.—Following a decision of the Antiquities Department, Kyrenia Castle was used for a while as a depot for the icons. A quantity of antiques were handed over to Mehmet Rasih Savarona by Peyman Urun. Peyman Urun himself entered these antiques in the inventory. At the end of a page he wrote: "The section following this (page) includes the antiques from Morphou" and on the next page he listed the antiques. Today the inventory does not include the handwritten entry made by Peyman Urun on the preceding page. The antiques listed on these pages were amongst the stolen antiques. This is clear evidence that Mehmet Rasih Savarona tampered with the inventory and committed irregularities.

3. Robbery at the Kyrenia Museum.—Despite the robbery of hundreds of icons from the Kyrenia Museum, no incident came to light until the smuggled ring was discovered! During the June 1981 investigations it was found that the registered inventories in the museum were missing, that some of the antiques sent to the museum were not registered by the officials concerned, that forged documents and registers were fabricated, and that some antiques were replaced by copies. It was discovered that the filed pages in the inventory were torn out and replaced with new pages and thus the icons and antiques entered in the inventory were stolen without effort. As the pages of the inventory were marked with pencil the whole robbery was easily carried out. The icons and antiques sent to Kyrenia Castle from other regions were stolen even before they reached the castle.

TESTIMONIES IN COURT

Huseyin Cahit Yildirim (day guard at Kyrenia Castle)

Mehmet Rasih (Savarona) usually came to the castle with his car. No visitors entered the locked rooms where the antiques were kept. Mehmet Rasih entered these rooms to prepare the inventories. Sometimes Ayhan Mustafa and Huseyin Saban accompanied him into the rooms. When the nightwatchman, Cemal Bey, fell sick, the castle remained unguarded for 3-4 nights. The nightwatchman had one of the keys of the castle "and Mehmet Rasih the other. Some nights he used to come to make sure everything was in order. A few times he remained inside the castle after working hours. While he was inside I used to wait in the courtyard. Once the small castle door which opens to the sea, was broken. But that door had no connection with any of the rooms".

Cemal Salih (nightwatchman at Kyrenia Castle)

"When I used to start my duties at nightfall, Mehmet Rasih used to remain inside. I fell sick three times while I was on duty. Mehmet Rasih helped me and took me home. I handed the keys to him. While I was off duty no incidents occurred concerning the doors".

Gonul Kupelioglu (clerk at the ticket office of Kyrenia Castle)

"I found a seal with the initials of Kyrenia Castle, which belonged to the Museum, and handed it over to Abdurazzak Yuce".

Abdurazzak Yuce, who for a while replaced Mehmet Rasih who was removed because of the smuggling incident, confirms, what Gonul Kupelioglu says. The employees at the Antiquities Department testified before the court. The court case at Kyrenia Castle continues. We shall return again to this question of extensive robbery and to the minutes of the court.

Now public opinion is anxiously waiting to see whether the hidden aspects of this antique pillage will be exposed or not. Public opinion expects that the court will not restrict itself to the irregularities concerning the antiques but will also take up the issue of antique smuggling which has been turned into a mafia business.

(OLAY) also publishes various pictures to substantiate the argument of the article.

3RD INSTALLMENT, OLAY (10.5.82)

Who is responsible for the protection of antiques?

Introduction

Who is the competent authority to look after the pillage of museums, the smuggling of antiques, the robbery of icons, the destruction of historic ruins, the destruction of the environment? Who is the competent authority for the protection of antiquities?

The following are responsible: The Director of the Museum, who was involved in the icon irregularities; the Department of Antiquities; Evkaf, which turns the historic graveyards and turbes into shops; the municipalities, which hung advertisement posters on historic buildings and do not supervise these buildings; the Supreme Monuments Commission, which allowed the construction of the National Struggle Museum on the city walls.

Finally those responsible for the theft of antiquities are the TFSC governments which have closed their eyes to the illegal digs. It was these governments which allowed the setting up of a cement-gypsum factory on the historic city of Gastria and which allowed the demolition of the historic building of the Turkish Bank.

"The Antiquities Department" and "Evkaf" are mainly responsible for this situation. In order to give both sides of the coin, we contacted and talked with the deputy-director of Evkaf, Mr. Turqut Ersey and the competent official of the Antiquities Department, Mr. Sefik Altay. This is what they had to say:

Question. Mr. Ersey, Evkaf owns ancient monuments. What kind of monuments are they? In what state are they at present? Are they being repaired?

Answer. To begin with, there are mosques and turbes; no other type of historic monuments belong to the Vakifs. Though some of them are the property of the Vakifs, they are in fact under the control of the "Antiquities Department".

We make small-scale repairs as much as we can. Rather, it is the Mufti's Office which makes the repairs. Each year we allocate certain sums from our budget to the Mufti's Office; sometimes the state also assists. With this money the Mufti's Office maintains the monuments. What the Mufti's Office does is to repair the mosques not the historic monuments. In the past, the Government and Evkaf made equal contributions to a fund for these repairs. This practice ceased after 1974. So far no work has been done in this direction.

Question. Why has work in this direction stopped?

Answer. Because of economic bottleneck problems. It seems that the Mufti's Office repairs only those mosques which are open for prayer. For example: The historic value of Haydar Pasha Mosque is enormous, but no repairs are made there. Yes, they must be looked after.

Question. Why is this issue not being taken up?

Answer: This is something which could be done by contributions from the state and Evkaf. This was done in the past. We were even considering looking after

Haydar Pasha Mosque. These concerns continued until 1963. After 1963 this mechanism did not work properly although it had worked perfectly well before. One reason was that the Greek Cypriots could not enter the Turkish areas after the 1963 incidents. Another reason was the Greek Cypriot Government's unwillingness to help us and the failure of UNESCO to help owing to pressure by the Greek Cypriots. After 1974 this mechanism came to a complete standstill.

These things require large sums of money; and it is virtually impossible for Evkaf to tackle these problems because, as I said earlier, we spent most our income to finance the Mufti's Office.

Question. Even though Evkaf carries out some small-scale repairs. For example Turunclu Mosque, Yeni Mosque . . . .

Answer. Yes, these are made by Mufti's Office within the framework I mentioned.

Question. However, there is a problem. During these repairs the historic value of Turunclu Mosque and Yeni Mosque were destroyed.

Answer. Yes, as I said, the protection of historic monuments is very expensive. This is a problem that the Government must take up effectively.

Question. However, while making these repairs the historical character is not protected. . . .

Answer. There is a need for urgent repairs to prevent their collapse.

Question. But the new marble put in Turunclu Mosque and the demolition of the Yeni Mosque minaret have destroyed their historical value.

Answer. Yes, one must link these two things together.

Question. Has there been any coordination with the archaeologists in repairing these monuments?

Answer. There is some cooperation with the museums. However, it is not satisfactory. Now we have repaired that mosque for T.L. 100,000. If we had done it as they had proposed, the cost would have reached T.L. 5 million. Besides, it would have taken three and a half years to complete the repairs. We could not spend that much nor could we spare so much time. We are making some repairs just to prevent them from collapsing.

Question. As you know there is also a Turkish bath at Famagusta. That place has been turned into a sports shop.

Answer. I don't think that belongs to us.

Question. I was told that it belongs to Evkaf.

Answer. Maybe, but the supervision is done by them. It has nothing to do with us.

Question. Do you mean that the Antiquities Department is responsible for the turning of the bath into a sports shop?

Answer. Yes, they also played a role in preserving its historic appearance.

Question. The sports shop at Famagusta? By being transformed into a sports shop it has lost its historical value. . . .

Answer. But if a place is not used, that place becomes worse. It could have become a public toilet. That is, if you do not use it somehow, it will be used illegally for other purposes.

Question. Well, did not Evkaf and the Antiquities Department think of using it jointly?

Answer. What do you mean? How should we do it?

Question. That is, did not Evkaf try to prevent the bath from becoming a sports shop and did it not try to prevent its destruction?

Answer. It has not been destroyed. As far as we know it has actually been restored. The interior may have changed a bit, but it has not lost its historic character. As far as I know the Antiquities Department has been careful in this regard.

Question. Well, as we said before, Evkaf is a very wealthy organization in terms of antiquities. But these antiquities are not exploited or protected sufficiently. What kind of organisation, financial source, and measures do you envisage in this case?

Answer. We are taking up this issue with the Government. Together with the Government we must find new resources and must restore the antiquities even at a slow pace. Otherwise, as you said, these will gradually collapse and disappear.

We have even more important things to do. For example the Big Han here has to be repaired.

Question. The Big Han sometimes becomes a depot, sometimes a parking place; it remains untended.

Answer. That is true. It must be restored. As I said it was included in the pre-1963 project and it has remained there.

Question. There is also the Kurt Baba turbe here in this corner. Spare parts from building constructions are deposited there too. Surely such things could be prevented without spending any money.

Answer. These who take chances put something inside it.

Question. Well, who is responsible for its maintenance?

Answer. I think the Antiquities Department has the key. Well, one can make excuses for the pre-1974 period, but after 1974 these issues should have been given more serious attention.

Question. Well, I would also like to inquire about the historically valuable and yet neglected churches. Who is responsible for their maintenance after 1974?

Answer. That too has not been decided. Normally the state is responsible for them. Some of them were banded to the Mufti's Office as they were turned into mosques.

Question. What do you think we should do to save our historic monuments from this situation and to protect them?

Answer. As was the case previously, the state and Evkaf should co-operate in creating a fund to start this job at some point. I believe that assistance could be received from the Arab countries. UNESCO refrains from having contacts with us. But if we show that we are doing something they too will be somehow forced to help us.

What does the director of the Antiquities Department, Sefik Altay, say?

Question. Mr. Altay, could you give us general information on the present state of the antiquities? Are they satisfactorily protected?

Answer. Though legally we are appointed to look after and maintain the antiquities, we are facing ownership problems. Among the antiquities there are those which belong to the state, to Evkaf and to individuals. This is the basic problem we are facing while trying to repair them. When an individual repairs a privately-owned historic building, he does not heed our advice. Sometimes we end up in court. Of course, we wish the state had financial means so that we could make the repairs we want. Unfortunately, we are unable to do this.

Evkaf is yet another problem. As you know, the antiquities belonging to the Turks are owned by Evkaf. We often have disagreements with Evkaf and we are trying to solve these difficulties through negotiations. I say we are trying, because, unfortunately, we have never been able to come to an agreement. The Great Han is an example. It is a valuable monument; it is a great Turkish monument and it is left to its fate amidst the fight for ownership and arguments as to how financial assistance can be secured and who will contribute.

Question. Haydar Pashe Mosque too is untended.

Answer. That is in fact a financial problem. I think Evkaf hasn't enough money to repair it. A second factor is that, from the discussions we have held on the issue, one gets the impression that Evkaf wants to act rather independently on the issue of repairs.

Question. They say that Evkaf has financial difficulties and that you want more costly repairs.

Answer. Now they seem to be more like a department engaged in business. They often tell us this themselves. The repair of antiquities is more costly than demolishing and building something else in its place. Their view is that if a wall is crumbling it should be demolished and a new one built. We are opposed to this idea. That is, our proposals are both financially risky and motivated by culture.

Question. You know, we have two examples, Turunclu Mosque and Yeni Mosque. They were repaired by Evkaf but their historic character was not properly preserved.

Answer. Yes, they were repaired by Evkaf. The historic features of Turunclu Mosque were not adequately preserved. As for Yeni Mosque we had many discussions, we come and went, we argued a lot. We are having trouble with Evkaf and the repairers. The repairers say we take orders from this or that person and you have come to criticise. We are trying to overcome these difficulties from both sides.

Actually there is a law on this. It says that if the Vakifs want to repair historical monuments they should go to the Council of Ministers to get permission. This means that the issue should go to the Council of Ministers where the Minister of Education and Culture expresses his opinion. But as the Council of Ministers is faced with so many problems it naturally cannot be called to a meeting to discuss the repair of a wall. But with regard to the repair of major monuments, we are making ourselves felt.

Question. There is also the Turkish bath in Famagusta. Who is responsible for its present state?

Answer. Yes, it was altered under our supervision and we are proud of it, no matter what they say.

Question. After the bath was destroyed construction work started in the backyard.

Answer. You mean Dubara sports shop?

Question. Yes.

Answer. We supervised its restoration, and we proposed it should be used for that purpose. Whatever they might say, we feel proud of what we did.

Question. Haven't its features been destroyed?

Answer. No, never. None of its features have been destroyed. It is an excellent example.

Question. Glass windows have been placed on the walls outside?

Answer. Only glass windows were placed outside. We have problems with the owner of the shop regarding these windows. The installation of these windows was beyond our control. But its aesthetic appearance and its internal decoration are excellent.

Question. Did no one think of restoring it as a bath and opening it to tourists?

Answer. No such request was made. If such a request had been made, we would have preferred it.

Question. From where did you expect such a request?

Answer. Such a request should have come from citizens. For years that place was neglected like a garbage dump. It had become the den of snakes and reptiles. Then someone came and said he would like to open a sports shop there. We sent our experts who saw that the place was suitable for the purpose. Under our supervision it acquired its present form. I think it has become beautiful.

Question. Well, there is also the problem of the Nicosia walls. Though certain areas are kept clean, no effort in being made to protect the stones. Besides the Presidential premises, a museum was also constructed on them. The walls were destroyed.

Answer. The National Struggle Museum is being built under the supervision of the Security Forces. I think the Antiquities Department gave permission for it. The cleaning near the Presidential Office is not done by us but by them. Our authority is very limited; we cannot do such things.

Question. What about the Kurt Baba Turbe?

Answer. It belongs exclusively to Evkaf.

Question. But they told me that you have the key and you are responsible for it.

Answer. No. Definitely not.

Question. But, I talked with them.

Answer. Go and talk with them again. If need be, we will speak with documents. Occasionally they send us citizens. They advised us to let this place. We were against letting it because such places are cultural monuments and we advised them to restore it instead and open it to visitors. I also sent them a letter proposing that we co-operate on this issue. But for long they did not reply. Then they sent someone again who proposed to rent it as a sandwich shop. Again we wrote a letter objecting to the proposal. No reply came again. The key may be with us but it belongs to Evkaf. I have discussed these things with Turgut Ersey who is Evkaf's Deputy-Director and member of the Antiquities Commission.

Question. But quite apart from all this, the historic character of Nicosia and Famagusta is being destroyed. This should be the concern of municipalities rather than Evkaf. But, unfortunately the municipalities do not show the necessary concern. What are your views on this?

Answer. Yes, the municipalities too did not show the necessary concern. In fact we have legal difficulties on this issue because in our antiquities law there is no definition of the meaning of a "historic site". We have suggested that the antiquities law cover the "historic sites", and we have conveyed our suggestion to the Council of Ministers. I think it is now being debated by the Council of Ministers.

We have made our suggestion regarding the law, but nationalization and financial problems remain which will arise later. I can't say how far it will be enforced. Presumably it will be a long term law.

Question. It is reported that a construction and rehabilitation plan is being prepared for Famagusta.

Answer. Yes it is. The Famagusta plan is one step more advanced than the Nicosia one. But the plan for Famagusta is being implemented by means of our own resources. As you know the Nicosia plan is being implemented at the request of the U.S. Development Commission which also finances it. The Famagusta plan will create heavy financial burdens for us.

Question. But the area included in the Famagusta plan is 60% Greek Cypriot property.

Answer. 60%? I don't think it is that much. I think this is a question of constitutional law. You cannot implement the Famagusta city plan simply by realising the plan. You need legislation from the state, that is the Government and the Assembly.

Question. Besides the Turkish monuments, there are other historical monuments. For example, Vouni palace is untended. Although it is a military zone it is open to tourists.

Answer. Who said so? It is fully maintained. There is also a guard. Whoever wants to can go and see.

Question. I saw it a few months ago. The well was filled in.

Answer. What you call a few months is probably a year. For a time we were obligated to close it to visitors. At that time we had also removed the guard because there was no point in keeping him there when no tourists visited the site. Today the site is open and clean. I know this for a fact, and if there are any hitches we will take measures to prevent them.

Question. We note that in the tourist pamphlets there is false information on many historical monuments.

Answer. In the past this was true. We have turned ourselves into a department in order to put such things under our control. We tell people that the publications of our department are accurate and that they should not look elsewhere. What you are saying was done in the past. There were distortions; they were written according to the views of other colleagues here and the necessary care was not taken.

Question. I would also like to ask about Gastria. You probably know better than we do that Gastria, which began to be excavated before 1974, is a very important city, probably bigger than Salamis. But later, archaeological digs were stopped and permission was issued to set up a gypsum and cement factory there. There are also reports that illegal digs and antique smuggling are being carried out in the area.

Answer. Gastria is an ancient city and it is true that before 1974 the Greek Cypriots were making archaeological digs there. Within the framework of the economic conditions which arose after 1974, a businessman from Turkey applied to the state, saying he wished to set up a gypsum cement factory there. The issue was brought to the attention of the Antiquities Department which rejected the proposal.

Question. Did it say that the cement factory could not be set up?

Answer. Yes it did. But when the issue went to the Council of Ministers the economic interests of the community outweighed all other interests, and the Council of Ministers accepted the proposal.

Question. But by doing so did it not disregard the long-term interests of the community? By doing so it also created conditions for illegal digs there.

Answer. This concerns the Council of Ministers. If the Council of Ministers wishes, it can endorse the decisions of the Antiquities Department. The regulations of the Antiquities Department say that any decision ratified by the Council of Ministers can be put into effect. Therefore the decision of the Council of Ministers is also legal.

Question. Even if it is legal, is it not open to question?

Answer. It's always open to question. In particular, such unsubstantiated things are always open to question. As to the illegal digs, they are being carried out in various parts of the TFSC. We know this for a fact and we hear about them. Those involved are closely watched and are brought before the courts, but in many cases we cannot do anything to them because there are no eye witnesses.

Question. But there are certain serious incidents, for example the theft of 35 icons from St. Barnabas Church and the robbery of Kyrenia Castle.

Answer. The robbery of St. Barnabas Church occurred when the guard was not there. The nightwatchman was relieved of his duties. The issue was brought to the attention of the authorities and 80% of the icons were found. As for the *Kyrenia Castle* case, that is still before the court.

Question. Are there initiatives to open an icon museum in order to prevent the theft of icons, to save from destruction the icons already stolen, and to make use of the half-finished churches?

Answer. We had thought about this. Now we are about to open an icon museum in St. Mamas Church near the Morphou Museum of Nature and Archaeology. In cooperation with the ministries and with the assistance of Turkey, we are continuing our work regarding immovable antiques.

Question. What kind of measures are you thinking of taking to protect and maintain the historical sites properly and to obtain the cooperation of the organisations concerned?

Answer. We are co-ordinating our efforts and are spending our money on equipment. We are showing the necessary interest regarding the protection of the historical sites within the framework of the laws, our possibilities and capacity. But we are short of personnel. As you can understand, we cannot put responsible personnel to look after every single monument. To protect a historical site you need two night-watchmen and a day guard this calls for an expense of TL 70,000.

Question. How can you protect them when robberies occur even when the watchmen are there?

Answer. Yes; sometimes even the presence of a watchman does not make a difference, but this does not happen often. Unfortunately there have been two robberies so far while the watchmen were there. Such things do happen.

Question. Why? Is it because measures are not being enforced effectively or is it because the courts give no reasons?

Answer. I think it is because the antiques bring in a lot of money. That's why all attention is focussed on antiques. Since there are even watchmen, there are no other measures you can think of. What can you do? You cannot have an armed man for every antique! I would like to view these things as natural in a community. This happens in all communities.

4TH INSTALLMENT, OLAY 17.5.82

Introduction

As everything has a MAFIA in our country, so there is a MAFIA dealing in antique smuggling. The membership of this gang of antique smugglers extends to antique traders, certain political personalities and foreign missions. Its net extends as far as Turkey, Germany and Britain.

Antique dealers and private collectors

Last month, during a conference organized by the Lovers of Museums and Antiques, the following statement was made: "The science of archaeology, using systematic digs, unearths the remnants of former cultures and thus reveals facts throwing light on the history of culture. Antique dealing, on the other hand, aims at selling valuable antiques and aims at smuggling them out of the country, thus destroying the artifacts which illuminate the history of culture."

In fact, it is now clearly revealed that certain antique dealers and people who co-operate with them are behind the illegal digs, the smuggling of antiques, the robberies at the Varosha Museum of Archaeology, and the latest museum robberies.

The matter was clarified in detail last year by an investigatory committee set up in the Assembly, and its findings were brought to the attention of the Government and of the judiciary bodies. The names of some of the prominent people, who are also private collectors and who co-operate with foreigners, are mentioned in the report. But even the incidents reported in the press are enough for us to see that there is an antique scandal. We are now a community which has become indifferent to scandals.

Isfendiyar Rifat, who was involved in antique irregularities, is still considered innocent

The attention of the Assembly was finally drawn to the irregularities committed by the Morphou Mayor and antique smuggler, Isfendiyar Rifat Aciksoz, whose dealings were public knowledge. Erdal Surec asked why, despite the documents appearing in the papers, the judiciary bodies were not taking up this issue.

According to claims before the municipality elections, Isfendiyar Rifat has been tried for an illegal dig in Polis and has been fined. However he was cleared by the High Court of any charges, and thus Isfendiyar Rifat had the right to contest the election as a NUP candidate.

In a letter to the Attorney-General on 21 March 1977, the Education, Culture, Youth and Sports Ministry Counsellor, Mr. Raif Birman, said:

"On 3.10.1975 the investigations were completed regarding the 217 items of antiquity confiscated from the Midtselli shop of the Morphou Mayor, Isfendiyar Rifat. On some of these confiscated antiques were the initial OHL and some numbers which suggested that these belonged to the antique collector from Morphou, Christakis Hadjiloizides. Later, from the list of stolen antiques submitted to UNESCO by the Greek Cypriot Antiquities Department, it became clear that the initials OHL belonged to the aforesaid Greek Cypriot collector." (See Document No. 1).

Thus, in 1975 stolen and unregistered antiques were found in the shops of Isfendiyar Rifat, and in the same year, following investigations carried out by the experts of the "Antiquities Department and the Directorate of the Museums", 72 items of antiquity were found in his house. But Isfendiyar claimed that he brought these antiques from the south and, together with the other stolen antiques, sold them to museums in return for a fat sum of money!

The matter did not end there. In 1980 Bellazi, the Italian who was brought as a nuisance to head our tourism enterprises, showed to the officials the invoice he received from Isfendiyar Rifat when he was caught smuggling antiques. It was ascertained that these antiques too were stolen from Christakis Hadjiloizides' private collection, which was under official supervision. Later a letter to the Ministry from the Director of the Antiquities Department and Museums, Hasan Sefik Altay, gave new dimensions to the whole issue.

Isfendiyar Rifat and Ekrem Yesilada wanted to violate the Law on Antiquities (35/1975) by asking for permission for Bellazi to smuggle out antiques from that country! Here is Hasan Sefik Altay's letter (30.9.1980—No. 10/80—Subject—Antique smuggling):

"Yesterday morning Mr. Ekrem Yesilada, Mr. Isfendiyar Rifat, and the Italian Bellazi, visited me and discussed with me ways of finding a solution to the antique smuggling incident in which Bellazi's name was involved. During the discussion Mr. Bellazi requested that the antiques be given to him and repeated the views expressed in his private letter. Mr. Yesilada and Isfendiyar Bey, on the other hand, spoke about Bellazi's contribution to the community's tourism and asked me to return to him 8 pieces of antiquity—which were mentioned in our correspondence of 22.9.80, No. 12/80, and which are known to be in perfect condition—and allow him to take them out of the country. At one point even, Mr. Yesilada insisted that Mr. Bellazi be given permission to have a collection here." (See Document No. 2)

Sefik Altay said in his letter that article 51 of the Antiquities Law must be applied against those people. Article 51 also incorporates articles 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, and 29. If the other crimes too are taken into account, we can see that under these articles Isfendiyar Rifat should be fined and sentence to hard labour.

But on the contrary, Isfendiyar Rifat's license for antique trading has not even been invalidated. The "Aciksoz" (Outspoken) antique shop in Morphou is almost wealthier than the "Morphou Museum of Nature and Archaeology"! Under the Antiquities Law, private persons have the right to have private collections or museums. Those who are engaged in the antique trade are regarded as unfit to have private collections. Although private collections are kept under supervision, the antiques, like those sold, cannot be confiscated. For this reason Isfendiyar Rifat has obtained permission from the Antiquities Department and Directorate of the Museums to have a private collection in the name of his wife!

What else happened?

On 11 October 1980, 14 pieces of antiquity were confiscated while being smuggled out from Tymbou. These pieces, which were illegally sold by Isfendiyar Aciksoz to the Italian, Bruno Kastel, were found to be unregistered.

On 6 November 1982, 6 pieces of antiquity were sold to a tourist named Ursula Frist without issuing an invoice or informing the department concerned. Isfendiyar sold a total of 12 such items which were confiscated at Tymbou airport while being taken aboard.

Again on 1 January 1982, 18 pieces of antiquity were confiscated while being smuggled out. It was Isfendiyar Aciksoz who had sold these antiques for DM 1,000 to a German called Kurt Heinrich.

Again on 20.1.1980, Isfendiyar Rifat asked for permission to sell antiques which he himself bought from someone called Salih Omer from the village of Krini. But following investigations by the chief of the Nicosia branch of the Antiquities and Museums Department, Abdurrazzak Yuce, it transpired that no such person existed in Krini. It is claimed that these antiques are either those that have been stolen or from illegal digs. (See Document No. 3)

In spite of everything, no legal measures have so far been taken against Isfendiyar Rifat.

Who stands behind the gang of smugglers?

The court proceeding regarding the museum robbery in Kyrenia and the wide-ranging antique smuggling will re-open on June 7. But public opinion still does not know who is beind the antique smuggling.

The handwriting expert at the Security, Mustafa Benel, confirmed during the previous hearings that the changes in the inventory were made by Mehmet Rasin Savarona. An employee at the State Printing Office, Oktay Coskun, said that the original seals were replaced. The archaeologists Nusret Mahirel and Tuncer Bagiskan said the following after investigating the inventories and the changes: The numbers behind the icons were changed; the pages in the inventories were blackened, and the altered inventories are different from the original lists they had. Archaeologist Ayhan Mustafa said: "Mehmet (Savarona) told me that he will go to Germany by car, using somebody else's license." The Public Prosecutor, Dervis Akter, said that "he is getting ready to flee Cyprus", and the "court" was asked to prevent him from doing so.

Will the members of the smuggling gang be revealed in this court case?

Last year many icons and antiques were confiscated after a search in the house of a diplomat on the Greek side. It was discovered from the registers that these had been stolen from the churches and museums in the North. But so far it has not been revealed with whom this foreign diplomat was co-operating.

A few years ago, when the antiques stolen from the Varosha Museum of Archaeology were on sale in London, the Greek Cypriots intervened and prevented their sale. Behind this incident too there were certain "politicians". The names of those involved in antique smuggling are not whimsically mentioned. The secret report of the Assembly, the incidents which came to the attention of the Government and the courts, and the evidence, clearly reveal the identify of those people.

The Antiquities Department has located those antiques which were stolen from the Varosha Museum of Archaeology and whose names were changed. An antique dealer in Morphou was held responsible. But is he the sole culprit? The names of some antique dealers in Nicosia too are involved in the icon robberies. However does the icon smuggling end there? Who are the smugglers' partners in Turkey, Germany and Britain? Who are they, and how do they co-operate?

Last week a citizen of the Turkish Republic, Aydin Dikmen, was arrested in Kyrenia by security officials. He was on the list of antique smugglers whom the police are looking for.

However, in our times it is not enough even to prove that the culprits are guilty. As in the case of Isfendiyar Rifat Aciksoz, the culprits go around as though they are not guilty. One wonders how they manage this? Perhaps the answer to this question is also an answer regarding the "Antique Mafia".

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